

THE  
AMERICAN MUSEUM,  
OR  
REPOSITORY

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN  
FUGITIVE PIECES,  
PROSE AND POETICAL.

For JUNE, 1787.

*"With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,  
"From various gardens cull'd with care."*

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MUSEUM AMERICAN

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POLITICAL ECONOMY.

*Part of Judge Pendleton's  
Charge to the Grand Jurors  
of Gagetown, Cheraws,  
and Camden Districts, in  
the State of Carolina.*

Gentlemen of the grand jury,

**I**S this fatal passion for sudden riches, so generally prevalent among us, to extinguish every sentiment of political and moral duty? Is it to be expected, that one assembly after another will be on the side of the debtor? No, gentlemen: the period is not far distant, when the laws of the state must be voluntarily obeyed, or executed by force. No society ever long endured the miseries of anarchy, disorder, and licentiousness. The most vile despotism will be embraced in preference to it. The nations from which we derive our origin, afford innumerable

examples of this. I will, however, mention but one. When the parliament of England had dethroned and beheaded that faithless tyrant Charles the first—subdued all their enemies at home and abroad—and changed their monarchy into a republic—one would have supposed that an assemblage of as great talents as ever adorned human nature, which so highly distinguished the patriots of that time, could not fail of forming a wise and just government, and of transmitting it to their posterity. But the event shewed that the disorderly temper of the people, occasioned by the civil war, would not bear the strong curb of legal authority. Expedient after expedient was tried: and government assumed many different shapes, to humour their passions and prejudices,

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dices, and lead them to a willing obedience : but all to no purpose. The public disorders daily increased. Every little club of politicians were for making laws for the whole nation. The fair form of equal and legal liberty became defaced by a thousand fanciful and impracticable whimsies, until the general distress became insupportable. What followed ? The very people, who, a few years before, had dazzled the world by the splendor of their actions, invited back, and enthroned the son of that king whom they had formerly put to death ; gave him a *carte blanche* to do as he pleased ; and seemed to have forgotten that they had ever lost a drop of blood, or spent a shilling in defence of their liberty.

Gentlemen, let us not lose sight of this awful precedent. To acquire freedom, is nothing in comparison to a wise and profitable use of it. Nothing can be more certain, than that Great Britain would eagerly seize any favourable opportunity to compass our destruction. She would, tomorrow, pour her fleets and armies into this country, particularly the southern states, if the great powers of Europe could be so allied and connected, as to secure her from a hostile confederacy. The history of those nations every where shews us what trivial

causes occasion the most important changes in their political systems. Surely, then, it is wise to be on our guard, and in the first place to secure a free and just, but at the same time a strong government at home. Without this, the citizens are insecure in their persons and estates : that insecurity produces murmuring and discontent : and that discontent will ever produce a disposition favourable for trying new changes. In such a state, to be attacked by a formidable enemy, without soldiers or military stores, and without authority to compel even our own citizens to obey the laws, we must fall a prey to any foreign power, who may think it worth the cost to subjugate us.

I have heard, gentlemen of the grand jury, great complaints against the illiberal and monopolizing spirit of the British government, on the subject of commerce with America—her numerous duties on American produce—and her refusal to enter into treaties for mutual benefits in trade. It must surely be highly ridiculous to abuse one nation for profiting by the follies of another. Do we expect that Great Britain, as a trading nation, will not exert every nerve to hold fast the commercial advantages, which our avidity for her negroes and manufactures hath given her ?



Is it not the steady policy of every nation in Europe to promote and extend their own commerce by every possible means, let it be at the expence of whomsoever it will? Yes, gentlemen: and let us act with such caution and punctuality, as to make it her interest to solicit, and we shall soon find her courting, with douceurs, those commercial compacts, which she now so contemptuously declines. At the close of the war, indeed, she stood trembling with apprehension, lest our two allies, France and Holland, should monopolize our trade. A treaty, pressed at that moment, and properly urged, *sine qua non* of all future amity and intercourse, would, in all probability, have produced an inlet of American-built vessels into her islands, and an exemption from many other injurious restraints. But the favourable moment slipped through our hands unimproved, I fear never to return. The only possible way left us to recover it, is, to live within our income; to secure a balance of trade in our favour; and to urge the federal government to such general regulations, as shall secure us from the infamous vassalage into which we are hurrying. If three or four hundred thousand pounds sterling worth of merchandize, [annually], and which sum will include a great many luxuries, is sufficient

for all our rational wants; when our exports greatly exceed that sum, and are annually increasing—is it not obvious to the meanest capacity, that a large balance must yearly return to us in gold and silver? which, in spite of all the paper-money casuists in the world, is the only wholesome political blood that can give union, health, and vigour to the body politic.

If we do not curtail our expences, and export more than we import, a general bankruptcy must be the inevitable consequence.

Many people are calling for large emissions of paper-money. For what? To shift the burdens they have incurred, by their avarice and folly, from themselves to their better and more deserving creditors, whose property they choose to hold fast. Can any thing be more fraudulent or astonishing? No, gentlemen: paper medium and sheriffs' sale bills, are only temporary expedients, a repetition of which, in a very short time, would be insupportable. They were intended, at a singular crisis, to open a retreat even to the foolish and extravagant, as well as the unfortunate debtor, by affording an opportunity to retrieve, but not to give impunity to the one, or a release to the other. The honest and industrious man will seize the opportunity to lay  
up

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up against the day of account and payment: while nothing will correct or reclaim the indolent and fraudulent knave. But, as I said, the period is at hand, when the punctual payment of the taxes and of debts must take place voluntarily; or the uninterrupted recovery of them in the courts of justice, be enforced. Palliatives are exhausted. We must either relinquish government; resign our independence; and embrace a military master—or execute our laws by force of arms, if no alternative is left us. But before we are compelled to resort to this disgraceful and painful ultimatum, let us all exert ourselves, and support each other, as free citizens, acknowledging no master but the laws, which we ourselves have made, for our common good—in obeying those laws, and enforcing them when and where we can. Let no man say, this or that is not my business. Whatever materially affects the honour and interest of the state, is every man's business: because he must, in common with all others, share the good or evil brought upon his country. That man, who refuses or evades the payment of his taxes, imposed by his immediate representative, or excites or co-operates in the resistance of lawful authority, is the paricide of his country, as well as the voluntary assassin of his

own interest: since it is impossible he can be tranquil or happy, or enjoy his property in peace and security, while his country is convulsed and distracted.

As grand jurors, gentlemen, the laws have selected you as their principal auxiliary, and most responsible guardians. On you, then, it is peculiarly incumbent, to interest yourselves in the conduct of all around you. You have the greatest property to lose: and your example, therefore, must be of the greatest weight. Investigate the police of your district: and, wherever any person hath accepted a public trust, and neglects or abuses it, drag him forth, let his office, fortune, or character be what it may. If keepers of ferries, highways, or bridges, do not discharge their duty—if the officers of justice violate the trust reposed in them—you are bound, in duty to your country, to yourselves, and to your children, as well as by the solemn oath you have just taken, to name them in your presentments, together with the names of such witnesses as can prove the charge. Even in your private capacity, as citizens, to inform against and prosecute all such offenders, is highly meritorious. The malevolence, which may, for a time, be directed against an honest, spirited, and patriotic citizen, is like the harmless

hissing

hissing of serpents, who cannot bite. He will soon triumph over their impotent clamour; and obtain the esteem and support of all good men.

I have been actuated by the plain and pointed observation you have just heard---by an ardent zeal for the honour and prosperity of my country. This is not a time to lessen or extenuate the terror which the present dangerous crisis must inspire. To know our danger, to face it like men, and to triumph over it by constancy and courage, is a character this country once justly acquired. Is it to be sacrificed in the hour of peace, with every incentive to preserve it? I repeat again, that without a change of conduct, and a union of all the good men in the state, we are an undone people; the government will soon tumble about our heads, and become a prey to the first bold ruffian who shall associate a few desperate adventurers, and seize upon it.

I confess the subject very deeply affects me. I shall, therefore, pursue it no further. I do not, however, despair of the republic. There are honest and independent men among us, to retrieve every thing, whatever may be opposed by the vicious and unprincipled, if they will but step forth, and act with union and vigour. If they will not, the miseries resulting to their

country from the utter destruction of all public and private credit, a bankrupt treasury, and the triumph of all manner of fraud, rapine, and licentiousness, together with the scorn and derision of our enemies, and the contempt of our friends, if we should have any left, be on their heads!

The attorney-general, gentlemen, will forward to you all such bills of indictment, for offences against the state, as shall be put in prosecution; and will also furnish you with such advice and direction, from time to time, as may be necessary to you, in the progress of your business. You will keep in view, in all your deliberations, the comprehensive oath you have taken. While you act under its influence, (and I am sure you will ever do so), you cannot err: and I shall with pleasure discharge you, as soon as you have dispatched the business which will come before you.



*On establishing a Sinking Fund in Pennsylvania.*

*To the Honourable the Legislature.*

EVERY friend to this country must feel a lively satisfaction in reviewing the laudable exertions that have lately been made in Pennsylvania to establish her public credit. Measures have already been adopted,

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adopted, not only to discharge the arrearages of interest due on the state debt, and on our quota of the debt contracted by the united states, but there appears a reasonable prospect, that, unless some adverse accident should happen, respectable advances will, within a few years, be made towards redeeming and paying off the principal of both. To accomplish this just and honourable purpose should be constantly in the view of the general assembly. From the commendable disposition already discovered by the members, I am induced to believe, that it is, as it ought to be, a favourable object with them, and in confidence of it, I beg leave to submit to them the following observations.

By an act of assembly passed the first day of March, 1786, entitled, "An act for the further relief of the public creditors, who are citizens of this state, by receiving, on loan, certain debts of the united states of America, &c." it is enacted, that those loan-office certificates which bear date between the 1st of September, 1777, and 1st March, 1778, "are subject to liquidation by the continental scale of depreciation on the final redemption and payment of the principal sums thereof respectively, although the possessors of the same certificates be entitled to receive the annual in-

terest thereof at full value on the nominal sums therein expressed, until such redemption and payment of the principal be made:" and by the same act it is provided, that interest shall be paid on the nominal sum, agreeably to the act of congress of the 18th June, 1780, to all such persons, or their assignees as shall lend certificates of that description to this state.

In consequence of this provision, this state must undoubtedly have received on loan already, or will receive hereafter, certificates of this kind to a considerable amount, for which she is bound to pay interest, as on the nominal sums. I find by the scale of depreciation adopted by congress, that 100 dollars in paper currency, loaned on the 30th Sep-

	Dols.	90ths.	8ths.
are estimated at	91	38	1
Specie, on the			
30th Oct. 1777,	83	6	0
31st Nov. 1777,	75	63	7
31st Dec. 1777,	68	71	0
31st Jan. 1778,	62	45	2
28th Feb. 1778,	57	28	6

The interest allowed to be received in transactions between citizen and citizen is, in all the great kingdoms of Europe, much higher than the interest paid by the sovereign powers, for monies borrowed either of subjects or foreigners; and in Pennsylvania is more than in any of those kingdoms.



kingdoms. But a permanent interest of six per cent. on government-securities, is, I believe, unknown, except in America. Great Britain pays but three and a half, and in most cases three per cent. on the immense sums of money in which she is indebted, and the united provinces still less.

As the government of Pennsylvania has, however, contracted with her citizens, at the rate of six per cent. the engagement is sacred, and must be performed. Yet, that an enlightened and patriotic assembly should pay six pounds per annum, for the use of 91. 83l. 75l. or 57l. when the burden may be removed by discharging the principal, and we have the means of making that discharge in our power, not immediately, it is true, but in a very short period, will be considered as an extraordinary and incredible circumstance by those who reflect on it. This, however, is actually the case in Pennsylvania at present. We pay eight, nine, and even ten and a half per cent. for the use of money; and cannot, with any degree of certainty, say at what period the evil is to cease, by any operation of the funds heretofore provided.

To remove it, I beg leave humbly to propose, that efficient funds be immediately provided for the purpose of discharging the principal sums,

together with the arrearages of interest due on the certificates before described. To gentlemen acquainted with the finances of the state, ways and means of accomplishing this object, cannot be difficult to discover. But as a source of supply, which has occurred to me, has not, as I have heard, been mentioned by either of the ingenious gentlemen, who, on a late occasion, so ably discussed and investigated the subject of finance, it may not, perhaps, be improper to suggest, that, in order to create a sinking fund for the purposes before mentioned, it should immediately be enacted by the legislature---“That upon the recording any deed of bargain and sale, lease and release, covenant to stand seized to uses, marriage-settlement, or other conveyance or conveyances of any estate in fee simple, fee fact, or freehold, or power of attorney to make such conveyance or conveyances of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments in Pennsylvania, there be paid, for the use of the commonwealth, to the recorder of deeds of the city or county respectively, or (in the case of sheriffs' or coroners' deeds) to the prothonotary of the court, in which the same shall be recorded, the sum of fifteen shillings lawful money of Pennsylvania, upon every conveyance or power of attorney to  
B make



make conveyance of any estate of inheritance, and of ten shillings like money, upon every conveyance or power of attorney to make conveyance of any estate of freehold; and that the said recorder or prothonotary respectively, receive the same, together with his own fees; and that no such deed or conveyance be entered of record until the same be respectively paid.

Provision may at the same time be made for securing the receipt of this revenue, by making the different recorders of deeds and prothonotaries accountable to the comptroller general.

That upon every fine or recovery levied or suffered in any court of justice in this commonwealth, there be paid by the person levying or suffering the same, the sum of 20 shillings into the hands of the prothonotary of such court, for the use of the state.

That whenever the seal of the state shall be affixed to any exemplification of a judgment in any court of record in this state, indenture or other deed or conveyance of real estate, exemplification of any last will and testament, letter of attorney, bond, bill, promissory note, bill of exchange, book account or other writing, there shall be paid into the hands of the secretary of the supreme executive council, for the use of the commonwealth, the sum

of ten shillings lawful money of Pennsylvania, he to be accountable.

That upon the admission of any person to be an attorney in any court of common pleas of this state, he pay into the hands of the clerk of the court in which, &c. the sum of three pounds; and upon his admission into the supreme court, then to the clerk of said court, the sum of six pounds, for the use of the commonwealth.

Many additions might be made. I have contented myself with barely sketching the outlines of a plan which some person of more leisure may, perhaps, think it worth his while to extend and to enlarge. The taxes raised by these means would not fall heavy on any particular class of citizens; nor would it be necessary to let inferior ministers of justice into our houses and inclosures in order to execute them. They might be levied without expence to the commonwealth, or injury to the individual: and the several articles taxed, would, notwithstanding, remain at a lower price in Pennsylvania than in almost any other country. I conceive a considerable sum of money might be raised from them, as the revenue arising from the record and prothonotary's offices would in all probability amount to 6000*l.* or 7000*l.* per year, and the other articles 1000*l.* or 1500*l.*

Small

Small as these sums may appear to be, their operation as a sinking fund to discharge debts that pay 9 and 10 per cent. interest, particularly when assisted by the means now relied on, would in a very few years be astonishing.

The immediate establishment of a sinking fund, in addition to that now existing, is a thing devoutly to be wished for. Public justice and public honour call loudly for it. A season of profound peace, the duration of which we know not, at present furnishes us with the means and opportunity. The discharge of our public engagements will make the government beloved by its subjects, and respected by foreign nations. When we have paid off our debts, we may then become generous, and hold out liberal encouragement to the arts, to manufactures, and to commerce. Charitable foundations may be established, seminaries of learning diffused, public schools for the education of the poor erected, bridges built over our creeks and rivers, our roads straitened and improved, canals opened for inland navigation, a respectable navy, that bulwark of strength, which never endangers the people's liberties, be built and set afloat; and the state of Pennsylvania, among the other united states, arrive to that pitch of good and perfect government, which is the

highest stretch of human wisdom, and the pinnacle of social happiness.



*To the Freeman of America.*

A CITIZEN of Pennsylvania, in a retired situation, who holds and wishes for no share in the power or offices of his country, and who often addressed you in 1774 and 1775, upon the interesting subject of the liberties of America, begs leave to address you again upon the important subject of her government.

It is impossible to be happy without freedom: and it is equally impossible to preserve freedom, without such constitutions and laws, as are adapted to the circumstances and habits of our country.

The rights of mankind are simple. They require no learning to unfold them. They are better felt; than explained. Hence, in matters that relate to liberty, the mechanic and the philosopher, the farmer and the scholar, are all upon a footing. But the case is widely different with respect to government. It is a complicated science, and requires abilities and knowledge of a variety of other subjects, to understand it. Unfortunately, from the general prevalence of despotism, and the monopoly of power in a few hands, mankind have but few opportunities of profiting by the knowledge they

they have acquired by experience in this science. The world, for the first time, saw a number of freemen assembled in America, to compose a system of government for themselves. It now beholds a scene equally new and illustrious--- a body of freemen assembled to correct the mistakes of this government. How different is the situation of the citizens of America from the rest of mankind! What would be the fate of the millions of our fellow-creatures in the kingdoms of Europe, should they assemble by voluntary association for this purpose? Or what would not the subjects of Great Britain, who complain of the defects or corruptions of their government, give for this inestimable privilege? Let this comparison kindle in our bosoms a due sense of the value of liberty: and let no pains be spared in framing such a form of government as may preserve it for ever.

The present federal constitution was formed amidst the confusion of war, and in the infancy of our political knowledge. It has been found ineffectual to support public credit; to obtain alliances; to preserve treaties; to enforce taxes; to prevent hostilities with our neighbours, and insurrections among our citizens. Hence, the name of an American, which, in the year 1782, was so respectable, in

every part of the globe, is now treated every where with obloquy and contempt.

If the evils we have suffered, and the infamy we have incurred, have not been sufficient to induce us to alter our federal government, there is one argument which should possess an irresistible weight with us. Mankind insensibly glide into a *fiable* government. The rich and the poor soon grow tired of anarchy. They prefer the order and tranquility of despotism, to popular licentiousness, and the oppression of law. Hence, the success of usurpers in every age and country. It becomes us, therefore, to prevent the introduction of that power which is the offspring of force, by means of a regular constitution, founded in a mutual compact between rulers and the people. There never was a republic of long duration in any country, whose form was not mixed: but the mixture has, in most cases, unfortunately been the effect of accidents, or popular commotions. Hence, the inequality of liberty in most of them; and hence, their corruption and extinction in every part of the world. I see no reason why a republic, composed of a legislature properly compounded and balanced, where representation is equal, and elections annual, should not continue to be the vehicle

vehicle of liberty to the end of time.

We have, therefore, my fellow-citizens, but this alternative left: either to form an efficient government for ourselves, suited to our exigencies and interests, or submit to have one imposed upon us by accident or usurpation. A bramble will have dominion over us, if we neglect any longer to choose a vine or a fig-tree for that purpose. The present relaxed state of government in America, is no common temptation to ambition. A federal Shays may be more successful than the Shays of Massachusetts: or a body of men may arise, who may form themselves into an order of hereditary nobility, and, by surprise or stratagem, prostrate our liberties at their feet.

This view of our situation is, indeed, truly alarming. We are upon the brink of a precipice. Heavens! shall the citizens of America, shall the deponents of the power of George the third, and the conquerors of Britain in America, submit to receive law from a bold and successful demagogue, or a confederated body of usurpers? Shall the united states become a theatre, on which the crimes of the Cæsars and Cromwells of past ages are to be acted over again? Are the freemen of America to be summed up in the account of universal slavery, and trans-

ferred, like cattle at an auction, to the highest bidder? Are our fields to be scratched (for they will not then be cultivated) by the hands of slaves? And is the product of our industry, whether in arts or agriculture, to be torn from us by arbitrary edicts, issued from a newly-established court of American despots? Was it for this we drew the sword at Lexington, and submitted to, or rather embraced poverty, exile, imprisonment, flames, and death, in every stage of the war? Was it for this we triumphed in the recovery of our cities, and in the reduction of the armies of Burgoyne and Cornwallis? Was it for this we exulted in the peace we extorted from Britain in the year 1782? If it was, then virtue has suffered, heroism has bled, and heaven itself has blessed us in vain.

America has it in her power to adopt a government which shall secure to her all the benefits of monarchy, without parting with any of the privileges of a republic. She may divide her legislature into two or three branches. She may unite perfect freedom and wisdom together; and may confer upon a supreme magistrate such a portion of executive power, as will enable him to exhibit a representation of majesty, such as never was seen before, for it will be the majesty of a free people.



people. To preserve a sense of his obligation to every citizen of the republic, he may be elected annually, and made eligible for seven years, or for life.

The more we abridge the states of their sovereignty, and concentre the supreme power in an *assembly of the states*, (for by this name let us call our federal government), the more safety, liberty, and prosperity will be enjoyed by each of the states.

The ambition of the poor, and the avarice of the rich demagogue, can never be restrained upon the narrow scale of a state government. In an assembly of the states, they will check each other. In this extensive reservoir of power, it will be impossible for them to excite storms of sedition or oppression. Should even virtue be at any time wanting in it, ambition will oppose ambition; and wealth prevent danger from wealth. Besides, when the eyes of the whole empire are directed to one supreme legislature, its duties will be perfectly understood, its conduct will be narrowly watched, and its laws will be obeyed with cheerfulness and respect.

Let the states, who are jealous of each others' competitions and encroachments, whether in commerce or territory, or who have suffered under aristocratic or democratic jun-

tos, come forward, and first throw their sovereignty at the feet of the convention. It is there only that they can doom their disputes, their unjust tender and commutation laws, their paper-money, their oppressive taxes upon land, and their partial systems of finance, to destruction.

Let the public creditor, who lent his money to his country, and the soldier and citizen, who yielded their services, come forward next, and contribute their aid to establish an effective federal government. It is from the united power and resources of America only, that they can expect permanent and substantial justice.

Let the lovers of peace add their efforts to those that have been mentioned, in increasing the energy of a federal government. An assembly of the states, alone, by the terror of its power, and the fidelity of its engagements, can preserve a perpetual peace with the nations of Europe.

Let the citizens of America, who inhabit the western countries of our states, fly to a federal power for protection. The Indians know too well the dreadful consequences of confederacy in arms, ever to disturb the peaceful husbandman, who is under the cover of the arsenals of thirteen states.

Let the farmer, who groans beneath the weight of direct taxation,



taxation, seek relief from a government, whose extensive jurisdiction will enable it to extract the resources of our country by means of imposts and customs.

Let the merchant, who complains of the restrictions and exclusions imposed upon his vessels by foreign nations, unite his influence in establishing a power that shall retaliate those injuries, and insure him success in his honest pursuits, by a general system of commercial regulations.

Let the manufacturer and mechanic, who are every where languishing for want of employment, direct their eyes to an assembly of the states. It will be in their power only to encourage such arts and manufactures as are essential to the prosperity of our country.

To beget confidence in, and an attachment to, a new federal government, let us attend to the characters of the men who are met to form it.

Many of them were members of the first congress, that sat in Philadelphia in the year 1774.

Many of them were part of that band of patriots, who, in contempt of threatening halts, signed the declaration of independence on the fourth of July, 1776.

Many of them were distinguished in the field: and some

of them bear marks of the wounds they received in our late contest for liberty.

Perhaps no age or country ever saw more wisdom, patriotism, and probity, united in a single assembly, than we now behold in a convention of the states.

Who can read or hear, that the immortal WASHINGTON has again quitted his beloved retirement, and obeyed the voice of God and his country, by accepting the chair of this illustrious body of patriots and heroes, and doubt of the safety and blessings of the government we are to receive from their hands?

Or who can hear of Franklin, Dickinson, Rutledge, Morris, Livingston, Randolph, Shearman, Gerry, Mifflin, Clymer, Pinckney, Read, and many others that might be mentioned, whose names are synonymous with liberty and fame, and not long to receive from them the precious ark that is to preserve and transmit to posterity, the freedom of America?

Under the present weak, imperfect, and distracted government of congress, anarchy, poverty, infamy, and slavery, await the united states.

Under such a government, as will probably be formed by the present convention, America may yet enjoy peace, safety, liberty, and glory.

HARRINGTON.

*An Enquiry into the Principles on which a Commercial System for the United States of America should be founded; to which are added some Political Observations connected with the Subject.*

*Read before the Society for Political Enquiries, convened at the house of his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esq. in Philadelphia, May 11th, 1787.*

Inscribed to the honourable the members of the convention met at Philadelphia for federal purposes.

(Written by T. C. Esq.)

**T**HERE are in every country certain important crises, when exertion or neglect must produce consequences of the utmost moment. The period, at which the inhabitants of these states have now arrived, will be admitted, by every attentive and serious mind, to be clearly of this description. Our money absorbed by a wanton consumption of imported luxuries---a fluctuating paper-medium substituting in its stead---foreign commerce extremely circumscribed---and a federal government, not only ineffective but disjointed---tell us indeed too plainly, that further negligence may ruin us for ever. Impressed with this view of our affairs, the writer of the following pages has ventured

to intrude upon the public: but as neither his time nor opportunities will permit him to treat of all the great objects, which excite his apprehensions, or engage his wishes, he means, principally, to confine himself to that part of them, which have been most subjected to his observations and enquiries.

Just opinions, on our general affairs, must necessarily precede such a wise system of commercial regulations, as will extend our trade to the greatest length to which it can be carried, without affecting unfavourably our other weighty interests. It may, therefore, be useful, in the first place, to take a comparative view of the two most important objects in the united states, our agriculture and commerce.

In a country blest with a fertile soil, and a climate admitting steady labour, where the cheapness of land tempts the European from his home, and the manufacturer from his trade, we are led, by a few moments of reflexion, to fix on agriculture as the great leading interest. From this we shall find most of our advantages result, so far as they arise from the nature of our affairs, and where they are not produced by the coercion of laws---the fisheries are the principal exception. In order to make a true estimate of the magnitude of agriculture, we must remember,

ber, that it is encouraged by few or no duties on the importation of rival produce; that it furnishes outward cargoes not only for all our own ships, but those also which foreign nations send to our ports; or, in other words, that it pays for all our importations \*; that it supplies a part of the clothing of our people, and the food of them and their cattle; that what is consumed at home, including the materials for manufacturing, is four or five times the value of what is exported; that the number of people, employed in agriculture, is at least nine parts in ten of the inhabitants of America; that, therefore, the planters and farmers form the body of the militia, the bulwark of the nation; that the value of property, occupied by agriculture, is manifold greater than that of the property employed in every other way; that the settlement of our waste lands, and subdividing our improved farms, is every year increasing the pre-eminence of the agricultural interest; that the resources we derive from it, are at all times certain and indispensibly necessary; and, lastly, that the rural life promotes health and morality, by

its active nature, and by keeping our people from the luxuries and vices of the towns. In short, agriculture appears to be the spring of our commerce, and the parent of our manufactures.

The commerce of America, including our exports, imports, shipping, manufactures, and fisheries, may be properly considered as forming one interest. So uninformed or mistaken have many of us been, that it has been stated as the great object: and I fear it is yet believed to be the most important interest of New England. But, from the best calculations I have been able to make, I cannot raise the proportion of property, or the number of men employed in manufactures, fisheries, navigation, and trade, to one-eighth of the property and people occupied by agriculture, even in that commercial quarter of the union. In making this estimate, I have deducted something from the value and population of the large towns, for the idle and dissipated, for those who live upon their incomes, and for supernumerary domestic servants. But the disproportion is much greater taking the union at large; for several of the states have little commerce, and no manufactures: others have no commerce, and scarcely manufacture any thing. The timber, iron, cordage, and many other

articles

\* An exception, in favour of the fisheries, must be made here: but it will not amount to five per cent. on all our exports.

articles necessary for building ships to fish or trade---nine parts in ten of their cargoes---the subsistence of the manufacturers, and much of their raw materials, are the produce of our lands. In almost all the countries of Europe, the most judicious writers have considered commerce as the handmaid of agriculture: this, if just there, with us must be unquestionable. In America, we have few manufactories to throw into the scale against the landed interest. We have in our lands full employment for our present inhabitants: and, instead of sending colonies to newly-discovered islands, we have adjoining townships and counties, whose vacant fields await the future increase of our people.

If a comparative view of the importance of our various interests should terminate in a decided and great superiority of agriculture over all the rest combined---if emigration and natural increase are daily adding to the number of our planters and farmers---if the states are possessed of millions of vacant acres, that court the cultivator's hand---if the settlement of these immense tracts will greatly and steadily increase the objects of taxation, the resources, the powers of the country---if they will prove an inherent treasure, of which neither folly nor chance can

deprive us, let us be careful to do nothing that can interrupt this happy progress of our affairs. Should we, from a misconception of our true interests, or from any other cause, form a system of commercial regulations, prejudicial to this great mass of property, and to this great body of the people, we must injure our country during the continuance of the error, and must finally return, under the disadvantages of further changes, to that plan, which it must be our sincere desire, as it is our serious duty, at this time to devise.

While I feel an absolute conviction, that our true interests should restrain us from burdening or impeding agriculture, in any way whatever, I am not only ready to admit, but must beg leave to urge, that sound policy requires our giving every encouragement to commerce and its connexions, which may be found consistent with a due regard to agriculture.

The communication between the different ports of every nation is a business entirely in their power---The policy of most countries has been to secure this domestic navigation to their own people. The extensive coasts, the immense bays, and numerous rivers of the united states, have already made this an important object, and it must increase with

our



our population \*. As the places, at which the cargoes of coasting vessels are delivered, must be supplied with American produce from some part of the union, and as the merchant can always have American bottoms to transport the goods of the producing state to the state consuming them, no interruption to the market of the planters and farmers can be apprehended from prohibiting transportation in foreign bottoms, from port to port, within the united states. A single exception may, perhaps, be proper, permitting foreign vessels to carry from port to port, for the purpose of finishing their sales, any goods that shall be part of the cargoes they brought into the union, from the last foreign place at which they loaded. The fleets of colliers on the British coast evince the possible benefits of such a regulation.

The consumption of fish, oil, whalebone, and other articles obtained through the fisheries, in the towns and counties that are convenient to navigation, has become much greater than is generally

\* The coasting vessels, entered at the custom-house of Philadelphia, in the year 1785, were five hundred and sixty-seven sail. All the other entries of sea-vessels, in the same year, were five hundred and one.

supposed. I am informed, that no less than five thousand barrels of mackarel, salmon, and pickled codfish, are vended in the city of Philadelphia annually; add to them the dried fish, oil, spermaceti-candles, whalebone, &c. and it will be found a little fleet of sloops and schooners are employed in the business. The demand for the use of the inhabitants of those parts of the union, to which these supplies can be carried, is already considerable: and the increase of our towns and manufactures will render it more so every year. In the present state of our navigation, we can be in no doubt of procuring these supplies by means of our own vessels. The country that interferes most with us at our own market, is Nova Scotia, which also, I am informed, has had some emigrants from our fishing towns, since the decline of their business. Such encouragement to this valuable branch of commerce, as would secure the benefits of it to our own people, without injuring our other essential interests, is certainly worth attention. The convention will probably find, on consideration of this point, that a duty on, or prohibition of, foreign articles, such as our own fisheries supply, will be safe and expedient.

The article in the British trade-laws, which confines the importation



importation of foreign goods to the vessels of the country producing them, and those of their own citizens, appears applicable to our situation. By means of those two flags, we should be certain of the necessary importations: and we should throw out of each department of the carrying trade, every competitor, except the ships of the nation by which the goods were raised or manufactured. All trade with several countries, such as China and India, whose vessels seldom or never make foreign voyages, would be secured in our own hands. It will be found, that an application of this regulation in practice, will be attended with no difficulties or inconveniences: and, besides the immediate benefits already mentioned, our merchants will be led directly to the original market, for the supplies, of which we stand in need. Instead of purchasing the goods of Russia, or the East Indies, in England, France, or Holland, our own ships will sail directly to the fountain, from whence they have flowed to us, through foreign channels. The credits, given us in Europe, after the peace, kept us in the practice of going to a very few places for all our importations. But they have trusted us, in many instances, at a dear rate indeed: and, however useful credit may be as a supplement to our means

of trade in this young country, it is very certain that we should first lay out to the best advantage our funds in hand.

These are the principal encouragements to foreign commerce, which occur to me at present, as proper to form *a part of a permanent system for the united states*. Regulations for temporary purposes, such as restrictions and prohibitions affecting particular nations, I do not mean to speak of here. I must, however, observe, that they should be adopted with great prudence and deliberation, as they may affect us very unfavourably, if they should be tried in vain.

In taking measures to promote manufactures, we must be careful that the injuries to the general interests of commerce, do not exceed the advantages resulting from them. The circumstances of the country, as they relate to this object, should be dispassionately and thoroughly examined. Though it is confessed, that the united states have full employment for all their citizens, in the extensive field of agriculture, yet as we have a valuable body of manufacturers already here, as many more will probably emigrate from Europe, who will chuse to continue at their trades, and as we have some citizens so poor as not to be able to effect a little settlement on our waste lands, there is a real necessity for some  
wholesome

wholesome general regulations on this head. By taking care not to force manufactures in those states, where the people are fewer, tillage much more profitable, and provisions dearer than in several others, we shall give agriculture its full scope in the former, and leave all the benefits of manufacturing, so far as they are within our reach, to the latter. South-Carolina, for instance, must manufacture to an evident loss: while the advancement of that business in Massachusetts will give the means of subsistence to many, whose occupations have been rendered unprofitable by the consequences of the revolution. A liberal policy on this subject should be adopted: and the produce of the southern states should be exchanged for such manufactures as can be made by the northern, *free from impost*.

Another inducement to some salutary regulations on this subject, will be suggested by considering some of our means of conducting manufactures. Unless business of this kind is carried on, certain great *natural powers* of the country will remain inactive and useless. Our numerous mill seats, for example, by which flour, oil, paper, snuff, gunpowder, ironwork, woolen cloths, boards and scantling, and some other articles, are prepared or perfected, would be given by providence in vain.

If properly improved, they will save us an immense expence for the wages, provisions, clothing, and lodging of workmen, without diverting the people from their farms. Fire, as well as water, affords, if I may so speak, a fund of assistance, that cannot lie unused, without an evident neglect of our best interests. Breweries, which we cannot estimate too highly, distilleries, sugar-houses, potteries, casting and steel-furnaces, and several other works, are carried on by this powerful element, and attended with the same savings, that were particularised in speaking of water-machines. It is probable, also, that a frequent use of steam-engines will add greatly to this class of factories. In some cases, where fire and water are not employed, horses are made to serve the purpose, as well, and on much lower terms, than men. The cheapness and the easy increase of these serviceable animals, insure us this aid to any extent that occasion may require, which, however, is not likely to be very great.

The encouragement to agriculture, afforded by some manufactories, is a reason of solid weight in favour of pushing them with industry and spirit. Malt-liquors, if generally used, linseed-oil, starch, (and, were they not a poison to our morals and constitutions,

tions, I might add corn-spirits) would require more grain to make them, than has been exported in any year since the revolution---I cannot omit to observe here, that beer strengthens the arm of the labourer, without debauching him, while the noxious drink now used, enervates and corrupts him---The workers in leather, too, of every kind, in flax and hemp, in iron, wood, stone, and clay, in furs, horn, and many other articles, employ either the spontaneous productions of the earth, or the fruits of cultivation.

If we are convinced, by these considerations, that regular factories of many kinds should be promoted in the

most suitable parts of the union, let us next consider, whether the encouragements now held out to them, are both sufficient and proper. The nearest rivals of our manufacturers, are those of Europe, who are subjected to the following charges in bringing their goods into our market: the merchant's commission for shipping, and the same for selling, cost of packages, custom-house-papers in Europe, and the same with a duty of five per cent. here, portrages, freight, insurance, damage, interest of money, waste, and loss on exchange. These may be rated at twenty-five per cent. on the least bulky of our manufactures \*. Here is a fol-

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\* We have no manufacture more compact than a piece of yard-wide linen, equal to what costs fifteen pence sterling in Europe. The following minute calculation will shew the charges, under which a package of one hundred pounds sterling value of that article can be imported:

64 pieces of linen, of 25 yards each, will be 1600 yards, which, at 15d. amount to 100l. sterling,	Currency l. s. d. 166 13 0
Outward entry, debenture, certificate, and searcher's fees, portorage, wharfage, bill of lading, in Europe are 15s. sterling, or, in currency,	1 5 0
Insurance to cover charges, commission for effecting and part policy, 3l. 3s. sterling, or, in currency,	5 5 0
Cost of case, ropes, and packing, 15s. sterl.	1 5 0
One year's interest on first cost, and European charges on the goods, 5l. 5s. sterling,	8 15 0
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Carried over	183 3 4

bid premium, operating like a bounty, while it happily costs the consumer nothing: for the charges of importation are unavoidable; and the duty, being merely for the purpose of revenue, is applied to pay the public debts and expences, of which he owes his proportion. This encouragement can only be increased by exempting raw materials from duty, which may be very safe and proper, and by additional duties and prohibitions, which would induce the loss of the revenue, and an injury to morals from smuggling; and would throw upon the other members of the commercial interest, and the cultivators and improvers of our lands, an unnecessary burden. The manufacturers are a just and sensible body of men, and love their country. I feel a perfect confidence, therefore, that when they see a substantial advantage of twenty-five per cent. in favour of their goods, which cannot be taken from them, they will desire that government should refrain from further duties and prohibitions. This estimate being made upon the finest of our manufactures, it is evident

	Currency.
Brought over,	183 3 4
Duty on value of goods in America, estimated at 160l. currency for 100l. sterling cost, at 5 per cent.	8 0 0
Commission on shipping 183l. 3s. 4d. in Europe, at two and a half per cent.	4 11 7
Part custom-house-bond, permit, and primage,	0 1 6
Commission on the sales and remitting, supposing the goods to sell for 210l. currency, per 100l. sterling cost, at seven and a half per cent.	11 5 0
Freight of 13 1-3 feet, at 1s. 3d. sterl. per foot,	1 7 9
Porterage,	0 1 0
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	208 10 2
Deduct the first cost as above,	166 13 4
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25l. 2s. 1d. sterling (being the charges) is equal to 41 16 10

In this calculation, waste, which of some articles is great, damages below five per cent. which the underwriters do not pay, injuries not within the risque insured, difference of exchange, now six per cent. above par, and other losses on remitting, postage of letters, and bad debts on sales at a long credit, as well as the profit of the importer, are not taken notice of, though several of them really occur in every importation.

that



that the more bulky and weighty would shew the advantages of our own workmen in a yet stronger light.

The clear air, and powerful sun of America, are other advantages our manufacturers enjoy. When the linen and cotton branches shall become considerable, a great saving of time and money will be made by the climate : and, where bleaching is effected principally by the sun and water, the quality of the cloth is known to be more excellent. The European process, by drugs and machines, impairs the strength. Ireland, I confess, with a climate very different from ours, is remarkable for the quality of its linens : but they do not equal the American homespun in strength. In confirmation of the above opinion, it may be mentioned, that there was a plan formed before the revolution, by a number of English merchants, of establishing a company with a large capital, to import the brown linens of Europe to be bleached here for the supply of our markets.

In this country, the consumer's money follows the delivery of the manufacture : therefore less capital is required. In every part of Europe, extensive credits are given upon their goods : for, though some nations have not got into the habit of trusting us, their own merchants are

known to buy on easy terms of payment. France is, perhaps, as little accustomed to give these indulgencies as any other great country in Europe : yet nothing is paid for there in less than two months : and the credits are extended from that time to twelve months, according to the article. At the expiration of the time, an accepted bill, at sixty days, is considered as prompt payment : so that the actual term of credit is from four months to fourteen.

To these might be added several other little advantages, the joint benefits of which are sensibly felt : but I trust enough has been said, to satisfy the just and patriotic mind, tho' concerned in the business, that a further addition of duties would not promote the general interests of the country. I must here beg leave, however, strenuously to recommend, that *every duty on American produce or manufactures, impolitically and unkindly imposed by the laws of several of the states, should be taken off*, and that the justice and sound policy of the alteration should be declared and admitted in some public instrument : and as ships may be very properly considered as the greatest article we make, the tonnage on our own bottoms should be equalized throughout the union : and the extra duties, on goods imported in vessels

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vessels not belonging to the state in which they are landed, should be done away. Complaints against the trade-laws of foreign nations, come not consistently from those who lay similar burdens on their sister-states.

A further encouragement to manufactures will result from improvements and discoveries in agriculture. There are many raw materials, that could be produced in this country on a large scale, which have hitherto been very confined. Cotton, for many years before the revolution, was not worth more than nine pence sterling in the West India islands. The perfection of the factories in Europe has raised it to such a pitch, that, besides the prohibition against shipping it from the colonies to any foreign port, the price has risen fifty per cent. The consumers in Pennsylvania have paid near two shillings for the importation of the present year. This article must be worth the attention of the southern planters.

If the facts and observations in the preceding part of this paper, be admitted to be true and just, and if we take into consideration with them the acknowledged superiority of foreign commerce and the fisheries, over our manufactories, we may come to the following conclusions: that the united states of America

cannot make a proper use of the natural advantages of the country, nor promote her agriculture, and her lesser interests, without manufactures; that they cannot enjoy the attainable benefits of commerce and the fisheries, without some general restrictions and prohibitions affecting foreign nations; that in forming these restrictions and prohibitions, as well as in establishing manufactures, there is occasion for great deliberation and wisdom, that nothing may be introduced, which can interfere with the sale of our produce, or with the settlement and improvement of our waste lands

Among the political considerations, which must necessarily be admitted in treating of this subject, the force, that may be required for our protection, is not to be forgotten. It is certainly the greatest that attends it. America, we may assume, can have no inducement to engage in European wars. From our local situation, we may keep ourselves long disengaged from them. The principal European nations would find us an unprofitable and troublesome enemy. The trade of France, Great Britain, Holland, and Portugal, which passes by our coasts, is a security against their hostilities. A war among them, in which we should take no part, would be more beneficial to our  
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farmers, merchants, and manufacturers, than all the advantages we could obtain, if engaged in it ourselves. Our ships would carry for them, or instead of theirs : and our lands and manufactories would furnish the supplies of their fleets and islands in the West-Indies. To counterbalance these advantages, and to pay the expences of a war, would require captures rich and numerous indeed : but what could compensate us for the drain of peasantry, and the lost opportunity of cultivating commerce, and the arts of peace ? A war merely offensive cannot be apprehended. The fortune of the British arms against America, undisciplined and divided, will instruct our enemies to beware of invasions after the military lessons taken from that long and serious contest. Having no foreign colonies, whose situation and weakness would subject them to their attacks, and having all our resources at hand to defend our own coasts, and cut up their trade in its passage by our doors, no European power will be inclined to insult or molest us. Should any of them be so insensible to their own interests, as to depart from the policy, which evidently ought to govern them, America, by acting in concert with the most powerful enemy of such hostile country, must commence a war, which,

however inconvenient and disagreeable to us, would be ruinous to their West India trade, and fatal to their colonies. We are not destitute of resources and powers to injure them, or defend ourselves. Our inland navigation, coasting trade, and fisheries, and the portion of foreign commerce we must inevitably enjoy, are no inconsiderable nurseries for seamen. Good naval officers we should not want. They have never been scarce : and one happy effect of the revolution has certainly been to raise the reputation of the marine life, and to increase the talents and respectability of its followers. Foreign seamen, too, would find great temptation to enter on board our privateers, and ships of war ; and might be hired in any numbers we could pay. The increase of the strength and riches of the country, by filling up our vacant lands, is the infallible method by which the necessary means may be acquired.

It will not be amiss to draw a picture of our country, as it would really exist under the operation of a system of national laws, formed upon these principles. While we indulge ourselves in the contemplation of a subject at once so interesting and dear, let us confine ourselves to substantial facts, and avoid those pleasing delusions, into which the spirits

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and feelings of our countrymen have too long misled them.

In the foreground, we should find the mass of our citizens the cultivators and (what is, happily for us, in most instances the same thing) the independent proprietors of the soil. Every wheel would appear in motion, that could carry forward the interests of this great body of our people, and bring into action the inherent powers of the country. A portion of the produce of our lands would be consumed in the families, or employed in the business of our manufacturers: a further portion would be applied in the sustenance of our merchants and fishermen, and their numerous assistants: and the remainder would be transported by those who could carry it at the lowest freight (that is, with the smallest deduction from the aggregate profits of the business of the country) to the best foreign markets. On one side, we should see our manufacturers encouraging the tillers of the earth by the consumption and employment of the fruits of their labours, and supplying them and the rest of their fellow citizens with the instruments of their occupations, and the necessities and conveniencies of life, in every instance where it could be done without injuriously and unnecessarily increasing the distress of commerce, the

labours of the husbandmen, and the difficulties of changing our native wilds into scenes of cultivation and plenty. Commerce, on the other hand, attentive to the general interests, would come forward with offers to range through foreign climates in search of those supplies, which the manufacturers could not furnish but at too high a price, or which nature has not given us at home, in return for the surplus of those stores, which had been drawn from the ocean, or produced by the earth.

On a review of the preceding facts and observations, there appears to me reason to believe, that the necessary measures might be taken to render our farms profitable, and to improve our new lands, and that our manufactures, fisheries, navigation and trade, would still be considerable. The long voyage by which all interfering foreign articles must be brought to these markets, and the inevitable necessity for a revenue, give us, as hath been demonstrated, a virtual bounty of twenty-five per cent. in favour of our own commodities, and this in the least favourable instances.--When *returning* œconomy, and the fall of rents and provisions, shall have reduced the expences of living---when our increasing farms shall have poured in their addition of raw materials, and we shall have

have felt the shortness of importation, produced by the suffering of our credit abroad, and by the check which has been given to foreign adventurers in our trade, this difference of twenty-five per cent. will have a sensible effect. Being rated on the whole value of the article, that is, as well on the raw materials, as the labour, it is, in fact, fifty per cent. on the labour in all cases where the workmanship is half the value of the manufactured goods; and so in proportion where it is more. Beer, distilled liquors, pot-ash, gunpowder, cordage, loaf-sugar, hanging, writing, and printing paper, snuff, tobacco, starch, anchors, nail-rods, and many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potters' ware, mill-stones, and other stonework, cabinet-work, corn-lans, Windsor-chairs, carriages, saddlery, shoes, boots, wearing apparel, coarse linens, hats, a few coarse woolen articles, linseed-oil, wares of gold, silver, pewter, lead, tin, and copper, some braziers, wool-cards, worms and stills, and several other articles, may be considered as *established*. *These are tending to greater perfection, and will soon be sold so cheap as to throw foreign goods of the same kind entirely out of the market.*

Many of the same circumstances, that favour the manufacturer, will render the fish-

eries more profitable: and, from the cheapness of vessels, they will be carried on at less expence than in the few last years. The American market, where the consumption (with population) is increasing fast, may be entirely secured to them. Our manufactories and towns will annually make larger demands for candles, oil, whalebone, and pickled fish: and it may be policy, in cities where meat is yet so dear, to *introduce the consumption of the dried cod*. The Danish and French islands, and the free ports in the West Indies, receive some of the produce of the fisheries: France is likely to take off a considerable quantity, as also are the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians: and the English will always want certain articles for their manufactories, tho' not to any great amount. New England, the seat of the fisheries, has the great advantage of being the cheapest and most populous part of America. Its inhabitants are healthy, active, and intelligent, and can be frugal: wherefore I am very much disposed to believe, that many factories will, in the course of a very few years, revive their declining towns.

The commercial citizens of America have, for some time, felt the deepest distress. Among the principal causes of their unhappy situation were the inconsiderate spirit of adventure

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venture to this country, which pervaded every kingdom in Europe, and the prodigious credits from thence given to our merchants. To these may be added, the high spirits and golden dreams that naturally followed such a war, closed with so much honour and success. Triumphant over a great enemy, courted by the most powerful nations in the world, it was not in human nature that America should immediately comprehend her new situation. Really possessed of the means of future greatness, she anticipated the most distant benefits of the revolution, and considered them as already in her hands. She formed the highest expectations, many of which, however, serious experience has taught her to relinquish, and now that the thoughtless adventures and imprudent credits from foreign countries take place no more,\* and time has been given for cool reflexion, she will see her true situation, and need not be discouraged.

Our future trade may comprehend the fisheries, with the exclusive benefit of our own markets, as hath been already observed. The coasting trade will be entirely secured to us. The right of bringing the

\* An application of the foregoing observations to the commercial subject, can only be admissible into this essay.

commodities of foreign countries, may be divided with the ships of the nation from which they come: or, in those cases where they have no native ships, the carrying trade may be our own. The revolution has opened some new branches of valuable commerce. The intercourse with France was next to none before the war, and with Russia, China, and India not thought of. With activity and strict economy, we may pay Europe with some of the produce of India, for a part of the goods with which she supplies us: and, if we do not over-regulate trade, we may be an *entrepot* of certain commodities for her West India and South American colonies. Besides these objects, all the manufacturing countries, and many free ports, will be open to us: and we may adventure in foreign ships to a considerable extent, tho' it would be more desirable to employ our own. As the proposed regulations would compel the British or Dutch merchants to import into the united states a part of the produce of France and Spain in American bottoms, so may ours serve the general interests of their country, by sending tobacco to Sweden, or flour, rice, and live stock to the British colonies, in the vessels of the respective nations.

The foundations of national wealth and consequence are  
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So firmly laid in the united states, that no foreign power can undermine or destroy them. But the enjoyment of these substantial blessings is rendered precarious by domestic circumstances. Scarcely held together by a weak and half-formed federal constitution, the powers of our national government are unequal to the complete execution of any salutary purpose, foreign or domestic. The evils resulting from this unhappy state of things, have again shocked our reviving credit; produced among our people alarming instances of disobedience to the laws; and, if not remedied, must destroy our property, liberties and peace. Foreign powers, however disposed to favour us, can expect neither satisfaction nor benefit from treaties with congress, while they are unable to enforce them. We can therefore hope to secure no privileges from them, if matters are thus conducted. We must immediately remedy this defect, or suffer exceedingly. Desultory commercial acts of the legislatures, formed on the impression of the moment, proceeding from no uniform or permanent principles, clashing with the laws of the other states, and opposing those made in the preceding year by the enacting state, can no longer be supported, if we are to continue one people. *A system, which will promote the gene-*

*ral interests, with the smallest injury to particular ones, has become indispensibly necessary.* Commerce is more affected by the distractions and evils arising from the uncertainty, opposition, and errors of our trade-laws, than by the restrictions of any one power in Europe. A negative upon all commercial acts of the legislatures, if granted to congress, would be perfectly safe, and must have an excellent effect. If thought expedient, it should be given as well with regard to those that exist, as to those that may be devised in future. Congress would thus be enabled to prevent every regulation, that might oppose the general interests; and, by restraining the states from impolitic laws, would gradually bring our national commerce to order and perfection. Such of the ideas suggested in the preceding part of this paper, as shall be honoured with the public approbation, may be better digested, and, if they appear worthy of it, may form new articles of confederation, which would be the foundation of the commercial system.

I have ventured to hint at prohibitory powers; but shall leave that point, and the general power of regulating trade, to those who may undertake to consider the political objects of the convention, suggesting only the evident propriety of enabling congress to prevent the

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the importation of such foreign commodities, as are made from our own raw materials. When any article of that kind can be supplied at home, upon as low terms as it can be imported on, a manufacture of *our own produce*, so well established, ought not by any means to be sacrificed to the interests of foreign trade, or subjected to injury by the wild speculations of ignorant adventurers. In all cases, careful provision should be made for refunding the duties on exportation, which renders the impost a virtual excise, without being liable to the objections against an actual one, and is a great encouragement to trade.

The restoration of public credit, at home and abroad, should be the first wish of our hearts; and requires every economy---every exertion we can make. The wise and virtuous axioms of our political constitutions, resulting from a lively and perfect sense of what is due from man to man, should prompt us to the discharge of debts of such peculiar obligation. We stand bound to no common creditors. The friendly foreigner, the widow and the orphan, the trustees of charity and religion, the patriotic citizen, the war-worn soldier, and a magnanimous ally----these are the principal claimants upon the feelings and justice of America. Let her apply all her resources to this great

duty, and wipe away the darkest stain, that has ever fallen upon her. The general impost---the sale of the lands and every other unnecessary article of public property---restraining with a firm hand every needless expence of government and private life---steady and patient industry, with proper dispositions in the people, would relieve us of part of the burden, and enable congress to commence their payments; and, with the aid of taxation, would put the sinking and funding of our debts within the power of all the states.

The violence committed on the rights of property, under the authority of tender laws, in some of the states, the familiarity with which that pernicious measure has been recurring to, and the shameless perseverance with which it has been persisted in after the value of the paper was *confessedly* gone, call aloud for some remedy. This is not merely a matter of justice between man and man. It dishonours our national character abroad: and the engine has been employed to give the *coup de grace* to public credit. It would not be difficult, perhaps, to form a new article of confederation to prevent it in future: and a question may arise whether fellowship with any state, that would refuse to admit it, can be satisfactory or safe. To remove difficulties, it need not be retrospective.

spective. The present state of things, instead of inviting emigrants, deters all who have the means of information, and are capable of thinking. The settlement of our lands, and the introduction of manufactories and lines of trade yet unknown among us, or requiring a force of capital, which are to make our country rich and powerful, are interrupted and suspended by our want of public credit, and the disorders of our government.



*Colonel Hamilton's Speech in the assembly of New York, on the 18th of February, 1787, when the Impost was under Consideration.*

[The beginning of this speech went to obviate an objection raised against granting the impost to congress, viz. that the measure was inconsistent with the constitution of the state. The printer is sorry he cannot entertain his readers with this part, as it has not been published. After a long and eloquent discussion of that point, col. H. proceeded as follows:]

**F**LATTERING myself it will appear to the committee that the constitution at least offers us no impediment, I shall proceed to other topics of objection. The next that presents itself, is a supposed danger to liberty, from grant-

ing legislative power to congress.

But before I enter upon this subject, to remove the aspersions thrown upon that body, I shall give a short history of some material facts relating to the origin and progress of the business. To excite the jealousies of the people, it has been industriously represented as an undue attempt to acquire an increase of power. It has been forgotten, or intentionally overlooked, that, considering it in the strongest light, as a proposal to alter the confederation, it is only exercising a power which the confederation has in direct terms reposed in congress; who, as before observed, are by the 13th article, expressly authorised to propose alterations.

But so far was the measure from originating in improper views of that body, that, if I am rightly informed, it did not originate there at all: it was first suggested by a convention of the four eastern states and New York, at Hartford: and I believe was proposed there by the deputies of this state. A gentleman on our bench, unconnected with congress, who now hears me, [I mean judge Hobart] was one of them. It was dictated by a principle which bitter experience then taught us, and which in peace or war will always be found true—that adequate supplies to the federal

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ral treasury, can never flow from any system, which requires the intervention of thirteen deliberatives, between the call and the execution.

Congress agreed to the measure, and recommended it. This state complied without hesitation. All parts of the government, senate, assembly, and council of revision, concurred. Neither the constitution nor the public liberty presented any obstacle. The difficulties from these sources are a recent discovery.

So late as the first session of the legislature after the evacuation of the city, the governor of the state, in his speech to both houses, gave a decided countenance to the measure: this he did, though not in express terms, yet by implications not to be misunderstood.

The leading opponents of the impost, of the present day, have all of them, at other times, either concurred in the measure in its most exceptionable form, and without the qualifications annexed to it by the proposed bill; or have, by other instances of conduct, contradicted their own hypothesis on the constitution, which professedly forms the main prop of their opposition.

The hon. member in my eye, [mr. Jones], at the last session, brought in a bill for granting to congress the power of regulating the trade of the union. This surely includes

more ample legislative authority than is comprehended in the mere power of levying a particular duty. It indeed goes to a prodigious extent, much farther than on a superficial view can be imagined. Can we believe that the constitutional objection, if well founded, would so long have passed undiscovered? Or is it fair to impute to congress, criminal motives for proposing a measure, which was first recommended to them by five states; or for persisting in that measure, after the unequivocal experience they have had, of the total inefficacy of the mode provided in the confederation, for supplying the treasury of the union?

I leave the answer to these questions to the good sense and candour of the committee; and shall return to the examination of the question, how far the power proposed to be conferred upon congress would be dangerous to the liberty of the people? And here I ask,

Whence can this danger arise? The members of congress are chosen annually by the several legislatures. They are removeable at any moment at the pleasure of those legislatures. They come together with different habits, prejudices, and interests. They are, in fact, continually changing. How is it possible for a body so composed, to be formidable

to the liberties of states, several of which are large empires in themselves?

The subversion of the liberty of these states could not be the business of a day. It would, at least, require time, premeditation, and concert. Can it be supposed, that the members of a body so constituted, would be unanimous in a scheme of usurpation? If they were not, would it not be discovered and disclosed? If we could even suppose this unanimity among one set of men, can we believe that all the new members, who are yearly sent from one state or another, would instantly enter into the same views? Would there not be found one honest man to warn his country of the danger?

Suppose the worst: suppose the combination entered into, and continued: the execution would at least announce the design; and the means of defence would be easy. Consider the separate power of several of these states, and the situation of all. Consider the extent, populousness, and resources of Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania; I might add, of New York, Connecticut, and other states. Where could congress find means sufficient to subvert the government and liberties of either of these states? Or rather, where find means sufficient to effect the

conquest of all? If an attempt was made upon one, the others, from a sense of common danger, would make common cause: and they could immediately unite, and provide for their joint defence.

There is one consideration of immense force in this question, not sufficiently attended to. It is this, that each state possesses in itself the full powers of government; and can at once, in a regular and constitutional way, take measures for the preservation of its rights. In a single kingdom or state, if the rulers attempt to establish a tyranny, the people can only defend themselves by a tumultuary insurrection. They must run to arms without concert or plan; while the usurpers, clothed with the forms of legal authority, can employ the forces of the state to suppress them in embryo, and before they can have time or opportunity to give system to their opposition. With us the case is widely different. Each state has a government completely organized in itself; and can at once enter into a regular plan of defence with the forces of the community at its command; it can immediately form connections with its neighbours, or even with foreign powers, if necessary.

In a contest of this kind, the body of the people will always be on the side of the state-governments. This will not  
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only result from their love of liberty, and regard to their own safety; but from other strong principles of human nature. The state-governments operate upon those immediate familiar personal concerns, to which the sensibility of individuals is awake. The distribution of private justice belonging to them, they must always appear to the senses of the people as the immediate guardians of their rights. They will, of course, have the strongest hold on their attachment, respect, and obedience. Another circumstance will contribute to the same end: far the greatest number of offices and employments are in the gift of the states separately: the weight of official influence will, therefore, be in favour of the state-governments: and with all these advantages, they cannot fail to carry the people along with them in every contest with the general government, in which they are not palpably in the wrong, and often when they are. What is to be feared from the efforts of congress to establish a tyranny, with the great body of the people, under the direction of their state-governments, combined in opposition to their views? Must not their attempts recoil upon themselves, and terminate in their own disgrace? Or rather would not these considerations, if they were insensible to other

motives, for ever restrain them from making such attempts?

The causes taken notice of, as securing the attachment of the people to their local governments, present us with another important truth--the natural imbecility of federal governments, and the danger that they will never be able to exercise power enough to manage the general affairs of the union. Though the states will have a common interest, yet they will also have a particular interest. For example, as a part of the union, it will be the interest of every state, that the general government should be supplied with the revenues necessary for the national purposes: but it will be the particular interest of each state, to pay as little itself, and to let its neighbours pay as much as possible. Particular interests have always more influence upon men than general. The several states, therefore, consulting their immediate advantage, may be considered as so many eccentric powers, tending in a contrary direction to the government of the union: and as they will generally carry the people along with them, the confederation will be in continual danger of dissolution.

This, mr. Chairman, is the real rock upon which the happiness of this country is likely to split. This is the point to which our fears and cares should

should be directed. To guard against this, and not to terrify ourselves with imaginary dangers from the spectre of power in congress, will be our true wisdom.

But let us examine a little more closely the measure under consideration. What does the bill before us require us to do? merely to grant certain duties on imposts to the united states, for the short period of twenty five years, to be applied to the discharge of the principal and interest of the debts contracted for the support of the late war; the collection of which duties, is to be made by officers appointed by the state, but accountable to congress, according to such general regulations as the united states shall establish; subject to these important checks, that no citizen shall be carried out of the state for trial; that all prosecutions shall be in our own courts; that no excessive fines or penalties shall be imposed; and that a yearly account of the proceeds and application of the revenue shall be rendered to the legislature; on failure of which, it reserves to itself a right of repealing its grant.

Is it possible for any measure to be better guarded? or is it possible that a grant for such precise objects, and with so many checks, can be dangerous to the public liberty?

Having now, I trust, satisf-

factorily shewn that the constitution offers no obstacle to the measure---and that the liberty of the people cannot be endangered by it---it remains only to consider it in the view of revenue.

The sole question left for discussion, is, whether it be an eligible mode of supplying the federal treasury or not?

The better to answer this question, it will be of use to examine how far the mode by quotas and requisitions has been found competent to the public exigencies.

The universal delinquency of the states, during the war, shall be passed over with the bare mention of it. The public embarrassments were a plausible apology for that delinquency: and it was hoped the peace would produce greater punctuality---the experiment has disappointed that hope to a degree, which confounds the least sanguine. A comparative view of the compliances of the several states, for the five last years, will furnish a striking result.

During that period, as appears by a statement on our files, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, have paid nothing. I say nothing, because the only actual payment, is the trifling sum of about 7000 dollars, by New Hampshire. South Carolina indeed has credits, but these are merely by way

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way of discount, on the supplies furnished by her during the war, in consideration of her peculiar sufferings and exertions while the immediate theatre of it.

Connecticut and Delaware have paid about one third of their requisitions. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Maryland, about one half. Virginia, about three-fifths. Pennsylvania, nearly the whole, and New York, more than her quota.

These proportions are taken on the specie requisitions; the indents have been very partially paid, and in their present state, are of little account.

The payments into the federal treasury have declined rapidly each year. The whole amount, for three years past, in specie, has not exceeded 1,400,000 dollars, of which New York has paid 100 per cent. more than her proportion. This sum, little more than 400,000 dollars a year, it will readily be conceived, has been exhausted in the support of the civil establishments of the union, and the necessary guards and garrisons at public arsenals, and on the frontiers; without any surplus for paying any part of the debt, foreign or domestic, principal or interest.

Things are continually growing worse; the last year in particular produced less than two hundred thousand dollars,

and that from only two or three states. Several of the states have been so long unaccustomed to pay, that they seem no longer concerned even about the appearances of compliance.

Connecticut and Jersey have almost formally declined paying any longer. The ostensible motive is the non-concurrence of this state in the impost system. The real one must be conjectured from the fact.

Pennsylvania, if I understand the scope of some late resolutions, means to discount the interest she pays on her assumption to her own citizens: in which case, there will be little coming from her to the united states. This seems to be bringing matters to a crisis.

The pecuniary support of the federal government has of late devolved almost entirely upon Pennsylvania and New-York. If Pennsylvania refuses to continue her aid, what will be the situation of New York? Are we willing to be the Atlas of the union? or are we willing to see it perish?

This seems to be the alternative. Is there not a species of political knight-errantry in adhering pertinaciously to a system which throws the whole weight of the confederacy upon this state, or upon one or two more? Is it not our interest on mere calculations of state policy to promote a measure which operating under the same regulations in every state,

state, must produce an equal, or nearly equal, effect every where, and oblige all the states to share the common burden?

If the impost is granted to the united states, with a power of levying it, it must have a proportional effect in all the states; for the same mode of collection every where, will have nearly the same result every where.

What must be the final issue of the present state of things? Will the few states that now contribute, be willing to contribute much longer? Shall we ourselves be long content with bearing the burden singly? Will not our zeal for a particular system soon give way to the pressure of so unequal a weight? and if all the states cease to pay, what is to become of the union? It is sometimes asked, why do not congress oblige the states to do their duty: but where are the means? Where are the fleets and armies, where the federal treasury to support those fleets and armies, to enforce the requisitions of the union? All methods, short of coercion, have repeatedly been tried in vain.

Let us now proceed to another most important enquiry. How are we to pay our foreign debt?

This, I think, is estimated at about 7,000,000 of dollars, which will every year increase with the accumulations of interest. If we pay neither prin-

cipal nor interest, we not only abandon all pretensions to character as a nation; but we endanger the public peace. However it may be in our power to evade the just demands of our domestic creditors; our foreign creditors must and will be paid.

They have power to enforce their demands: and sooner or later they may be expected to do it. It is not my intention to endeavour to excite the apprehensions of the committee, but I would appeal to their prudence. A discreet attention to the consequences of national measures is no impeachment of our firmness.

The foreign debt, I say, must sooner or later be paid: and the longer provision is delayed, the heavier it must fall at last.

We require about 1,600,000 dollars to discharge the interest and instalments of the present year; about a million annually, upon an average, for ten years more; and about 300,000 dollars for another ten years.

The product of the impost may be computed at about a million of dollars annually. It is an increasing fund---this fund would not only suffice for the discharge of the foreign debt, but important operations might be ingrafted upon it, towards the extinguishment of the domestic debt.

Is it possible to hesitate about the propriety of adopting a resource

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source so easy in itself, and so extensive in its effects?

Here I may expect to be told there is no objection to employing this resource; the act of the last session does it. The only dispute is about the mode. We are willing to grant the money, but not the power required from us. Money will pay our debts: power may destroy our liberties. It has been insinuated that nothing but a lust of power would have prevented congress from accepting the grant in the shape it has already passed the legislature.

This is a severe charge; if true, it ought undoubtedly to prevent our going a step further. But it is easy to shew that congress could not have accepted our grant without removing themselves further from the object, than they now are. To gain one state, they must have lost all the others.

The grants of every state are accompanied with a condition, that similar grants be made by the other states. It is not denied that our act is essentially different from theirs. Their acts give the united states the power of collecting the duty---ours reserves it to the state, and makes it receivable in paper money.

The immediate consequence of accepting our grant would be a relinquishment of the grants of the other states. They

must take the matter up anew, and do the work over again, to accommodate it to our standard. In order to anchor one state, would it have been wise to set twelve, or at least eleven others afloat?

It is said that the states which have granted more, would certainly be willing to grant less. They would easily accommodate their acts to that of New York, as more favourable to their own power and security.

But would Massachusetts and Virginia, which have no paper money of their own, accede to a plan that permitted other states to pay in paper, while they paid in specie? Would they consent that their citizens should pay twenty shillings in the pound, while the citizens of Rhode Island paid only four, the citizens of North Carolina, ten, and of the other states in different degrees of inequality, in proportion to the relative depreciation of their paper? Is it wise in this state to cherish a plan that gives such advantage to the citizens of other states over its own?

The paper money of the state of New York, in most transactions, is equal to gold and silver---that of Rhode Island is depreciated to five for one---that of North Carolina, to two for one---that of South Carolina may perhaps be worth fifteen shillings in the pound.

If the states pay the duties in paper

paper, is it not evident, that for every pound of that duty consumed by the citizen of New York, he would pay twenty shillings, while the citizen of South Carolina would pay fifteen shillings, of North-Carolina, ten shillings, and Rhode Island, only four?

This consideration alone is sufficient to condemn the plan of our grant of last session, and to prove incontestably, that the states which are averse to emitting a paper currency, or have it in their power to support one when emitted, would never come into it.

Again, would those states, which, by their public acts demonstrate a conviction that the powers of the union require augmentation—which are conscious of energy in their own administration—would they be willing to concur in a plan, which left the collection of the duties in the hands of each state, and of course subject to all the inequalities which a more or less vigorous system of collection would produce?

This, too, is an idea which ought to have great weight with us—we have better habits of government than are to be found in some of the states—and our constitution admits of more energy than the constitution of most of the other states: the duties, therefore, would be more effectually collected with us than in such states, and this would have a si-

milar effect to the depreciation of the money, in imposing a great burden on the citizens of this state.

If any state should incline to evade the payment of the duties, having the collection in its own hands, nothing would be easier than to effect it, and without materially sacrificing appearances.

It is manifest from this view of the subject, that we have the strongest reasons as a state, to depart from our own act; and that it would have been highly injudicious in congress to have accepted it.

If there even had been a prospect of the concurrence of the other states in the plan, how inadequate would it have been to the public exigencies—fettered with the embarrassments of a depreciating paper?

It is to no purpose to say that the faith of the state was pledged by the act, to make the paper equal to gold and silver—and that the other states would be obliged to do the same: what greater dependence can be had on the faith of the states pledged to this measure, than on the faith they pledged in the confederation, sanctioned by a solemn appeal to heaven? If the obligations of faith in one case, have had so little influence upon their conduct in respect to the requisitions of congress; what hope can there be that they would have greater influence in re-

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spect to the deficiencies of the paper money?

There yet remains an important light, in which to consider the subject in the view of revenue. It is a clear point, that we cannot carry the duties upon imposts to the same extent by separate arrangements as by a general plan; we must regulate ourselves by what we find done in the neighbouring states. While Pennsylvania has only two and a half per cent. on her importations, we cannot greatly exceed her; we must content ourselves with the same, or nearly the same rate. To go much beyond it would injure our commerce in a variety of ways, and would defeat itself--while the ports of Connecticut and Jersey are open to the introduction of goods, free from duty, and the conveyance from them to us is so easy--while they consider our imposts as an ungenerous advantage taken of them, which it would be laudable to elude, the duties must be light; or they would be evaded: the facility of doing it, and the temptation to do it, would be both so great, that we should, perhaps, collect less by an increase of the rates, than we do now. Already do we experience the effects of this situation. But if the duties were to be levied under a common direction, with the same precautions every where to guard against smuggling,

they might, without prejudice to trade, be carried to a much more considerable height.

As things now stand, we must adhere to the present standard of duties without any material alterations. Suppose this to produce fifty thousand pounds a year. The duties to be granted to congress ought, in proportion, to produce double that sum. To this it appears, by a scheme now before us, that additional duties might be imposed for the use of the state, on certain enumerated articles, to the amount of thirty thousand pounds. This would be an augmentation of our national revenue, by indirect taxation, to the extent of eighty thousand pounds a year--an immense object in a single state, and which alone demonstrates the good policy of the measure.

It is no objection to say that a great part of this fund will be dedicated to the use of the united states. Their exigencies must be supplied in some way or other. The more is done towards it by means of the impost, the less will be to be done in other modes. If we do not employ that resource to the best account, we must find others in direct taxation: and to this are opposed all the habits and prejudices of the community. There is not a farmer in the state, who would not pay a shilling in the voluntary consumption of articles

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on which a duty is paid, rather than a penny imposed immediately on his house and land.

There is but one objection to the measure under consideration, that has come to my knowledge, which yet remains to be discussed. I mean the effect it is supposed it would have upon our paper-currency. It is said, the diversion of this fund would leave the credit of the paper without any effectual support.

Though I should not be disposed to put a consideration of this kind in competition with the safety of the union; yet I should be extremely cautious about any thing that might affect our currency. The legislature having thought an emission of paper adviseable, I consider it my duty, as a representative of the people, to take care of its credit. But it appears to me that apprehensions on this ground, are without foundation.

What has hitherto been the principal support of the credit of the paper? Two things: the universal demand for money, and the immediate interest of the merchants to countenance whatever would facilitate the recovery of their debts. The first cause begat a general clamour in the country for a paper emission, and a disposition to uphold its credit. The farmers appeared willing to exchange their produce for it. The merchants, on the other

hand, had large debts outstanding. They supposed that giving a free circulation to the paper, would enable their customers in the country to pay; and as they perceived that they would have it in their power to convert the money into produce, they naturally resolved to give it their support.

These causes combined to introduce the money into general circulation: and, having once obtained credit, it will now be able to support itself.

The chief difficulty to have been apprehended in respect to the paper, was, to overcome the diffidence which the still-recent experience of depreciating paper, had instilled into men's minds. This, it was to have been feared, would have shaken its credit at its outset: and, if it had once begun to sink, it would have been no easy matter to prevent its total decline.

The event has, however, turned out otherwise: and the money has been fortunate enough to conciliate the public confidence. This point gained, there need be no apprehensions for its future fate, unless the government should do something to destroy that confidence.

The causes, that first gave it credit, still operate; and will in all probability continue to do so. The demand for money has not lessened: and the merchant has still the

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same inducement to countenance the circulation of the paper.

I shall not deny that the outlet which the payment of duties furnished to the merchant, was an additional motive to the reception of the paper. Nor is it proposed to take away this motive. There is now before this house a bill, one object of which is, the establishment of a state-impost on certain enumerated articles, in addition to that to be granted to the united states. It is computed, on very good grounds, that the additional duties would amount to about thirty thousand pounds: and, as they would be payable in paper-currency, they would create a sufficient demand upon the merchant, to leave him, in this respect, substantially the same inducement which he has now. Indeed, independent of this, the readiness of the trading people to take the money, can never be doubted, while it will freely command the commodities of the country: for this, to them, is the most important use they can make of it.

But, besides the state-impost, there must be other taxes: and these will all contribute to create a demand for the money, which is all we now mean, when we talk of funds for its support: for there are none appropriated for the redemption of the paper.

Upon the whole, the additional duties will be a competent substitute for those now in existence: and the general good will of the community towards the paper, will be the best security for its credit.

Having now shewn, mr. Chairman, that there is no constitutional impediment to the adoption of the bill---that there is no danger to be apprehended to the public liberty, from giving the power in question to the united states---and that, in the view of revenue, the measure under consideration is not only expedient but necessary---let us turn our attention to the other side of this important subject: let us ask ourselves, what will be the consequence of rejecting the bill? what will be the situation of our national affairs, if they are left much longer to float in the chaos, in which they are now involved.

Can our national character be preserved without paying our debts? Can the union subsist without revenue? Have we realized the consequences which would attend its dissolution?

If these states are not united under a federal government, they will infallibly have wars with each other: and their divisions will subject them to all the mischiefs of foreign influence and intrigue. The human passions will never want objects of hostility. The west-  
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ern territory is an obvious and fruitful source of contest. Let us also cast our eye upon the map of this state, intersected from one extremity to the other by a large navigable river. In the event of a rupture with them, what is to hinder our metropolis from becoming a prey to our neighbours? Is it even supposeable that they would suffer it to remain the nursery of wealth to a distinct community?

These subjects are delicate: but it is necessary to contemplate them, to teach us to form a true estimate of our situation.

Wars with each other would beget standing armies---a source of more real danger to our liberties, than all the power that could be conferred upon the representatives of the people. And wars with each other would lead to opposite alliances with foreign powers, and plunge us into all the labyrinths of European politics.

The Romans, in their progress to universal dominion, when they conceived the project of subduing the refractory spirit of the Grecian republics, which composed the famous Achaian league, began by sowing dissensions among them, and instilling jealousies of each other, and of the common head; and finished by

making them a province of the Roman empire.

The application is easy. If there are any foreign enemies, if there are any domestic foes to this country, all their arts and artifices will be employed to effect a dissolution of the union. This cannot be better done than by sowing jealousies of the federal head, and cultivating in each state an undue attachment to its power.

The question being put, there appeared for granting the impost,

Against it,

21

36

Majority,

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\* \* It may not prove an uninteresting observation to such of the readers, as are unacquainted with the circumstances that attended the rejection of this most momentous question, to mention that the members opposed to vesting the united states in congress assembled with power to levy the impost, made no attempt to justify their votes by arguments, or to invalidate those cogent ones alleged in favour of the measure by col. Hamilton. On this occasion it was (not unaptly) remarked, that the *impost* was *strangled* by a band of *mutes* (alluding to the Turkish messengers of fate).

RU-



## RURAL CONCERNS.

The following may be depended upon as a genuine extract from a letter, written by a British traveller in New England.

*On the Advantage of breeding Mules.*

A Few days since I was sitting in the piazza of a public house, in company with a number of plain gentlemen belonging to the vicinity. They soon began (as is common in New England, for it is their darling theme) to complain of hard times.

One says, he lost his all by the depreciation of the old continental currency, and yet is now obliged to contribute at least half his earnings to the support of salary-men. A second, that he had been a colonel in the American service, where, with the loss of seven years time, he had spent a handsome interest in the defence of his country, and was now receiving his reward by continual visits from that detested crew, the tax-gatherers. The third, a tanner and shoemaker, was equally warm in his complaints, for his apprentices went into the army, and spent half their wages; besides the remainder was good for nothing: his stock was ruined,

&c. The fourth, a shrewd, speculating farmer, very gravely observes, that no man in this state, excepting public officers, can have an opportunity of making an interest: for I am confident, says he, that our legislature are determined to cramp and lessen every branch of business, which might be a source of wealth to the country, by laying on them the most exorbitant taxes. They have lately, in conformity to this wise system of politics, laid a tax on jackasses and mules; although three-fourths of both houses confessed they had never seen, and very rarely heard of such creatures. Indeed, says he, it is my opinion, that if two or three of us were to turn our attention to the raising of poultry, they would be taxed the next session.

I now told the company that it was my birth-day, and gave them an invitation to drink a glass of Madeira wine with me, which they readily accepted. Accordingly, we all walked into a parlour, and had scarcely emptied the first decanter, when I found an agreeable change in their humour—the times were very sensibly altered for the better.

After informing them that I had

had made the tour of Europe, and visited both the Indies, I told them I never saw a country where a person of enterprise could, with a small beginning, sooner amass an interest, than in New England; and that, had they industry and prudence, they might live like princes, observing, at the same time, that it was the fate of a fertile land to be possessed by the most indolent inhabitants.

The gentleman undone by paper-currency, replies, you are certainly right, for it is nothing but laziness that has ruined so many of us. Ten years past, I was not worth ten dollars: but determining to turn matters to the best advantage, I bought a cheap farm, which cleared itself in five years. I have since made considerable additions, so that I am now worth two thousand pounds, besides my losses in paper-money.

After the colonel and shoemaker had each informed me, by what means they had amassed very considerable fortunes, the gentleman who was so warm in his complaints against the impolitic modes of taxation, says, my neighbours, it is true, have been very fortunate, yet I could scarcely live, although my father had given me a pretty good farm, until about six years since. I then bought a jack at 75*l.* and he has had between two and three

hundred mares every year since, at two dollars the season, or at four if I ventured: but this was not a quarter of my profits; for I bought most of the mules at four months old, for 5*l.* per head; and having kept them at a small expence, one year only, I sold them from forty to fifty dollars the head, so that my jack has cleared me 150*l.* hard money, every year since I owned him, and this would have been something clever in a few years more, if our assembly could have been easy without taxing him.

My company having retired, I found on enquiry, that the farmer had not in the least exaggerated the profits arising from his jack-ass and mules; yet very few people in this country are adventurous enough to undertake this most lucrative branch of husbandry. Their fathers did not, and they are afraid; indeed, they consider nothing of the immense profits other countries have reaped from it, of which they cannot be ignorant, since the high embargoes which are every where laid on them, to prevent their exportation, are well known, nor are they awaked by seeing a few of their crafty citizens amassing the largest fortunes by the culture of them, some of whom, by a narrowness of spirit, use every insinuation to persuade their ignorant countrymen that the market is not sufficient; as though

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though New England could raise more mules than are wanted in the West India islands, I might have said in all South America.

The truth is, that husbandry is so unpopular a profession in this country, that few men of enterprise go into it; consequently you may judge of their agricultural improvements.

I think this country has the most natural advantages of any I ever saw; for it is my real opinion, that barely the culture of those mules, if vigorously attended to, in a very few years would bring its inhabitants more than a sufficiency of cash to discharge their foreign debt, of which they so loudly complain; yet this, with the raising of hemp, and many other lucrative branches of husbandry, are almost entirely neglected.



Mr. Printer,

Be pleased to insert the following Letter addressed to the Society for promoting Agriculture, and by them directed to be published; and you will oblige

Your very humble servant,  
T. PICKERING, Secretary.

*Prospect, May 20th, 1787.*

Dear Sir,

**I** HAVE not heard that the Philadelphia agricultural society have yet paid that attention to the Hessian fly, which I think the subject me-

rits. That at New York, alarmed at the ravages committed by this insect, has advertised and requested information respecting it.

In Mr. Oswald's paper of the 7th of April last, a letter to that society is inserted, from a gentleman, dated New York, September 1st, 1786\*, which gives the best account of the insect that I have seen. Having been an attentive observer of its destructive progress, I am exceedingly anxious that the Philadelphia society should direct their attention to it. If its whole history can be ascertained, a remedy against it may be more easily discovered; but it may be proper, for that purpose, to collect all the observations which the lovers of agriculture have in their power to communicate on the subject.

The inhabitants of the province of Angoumois, having, for thirty years, suffered irreparable losses by an insect which destroyed their wheat and other grain, messrs. Duhamel and Tillet were deputed by the academy of sciences at Paris, of which they were members, to enquire into the nature of this insect, and the means of preventing and curing the dreadful calamity the people laboured under.

I would beg leave to propose, that in like manner the Philadelphia agricultural society appoint a committee to inspect

\* See American Museum, p. 325.

spect a number of fields of grain, infected with the Hessian fly; to inform themselves of its history and progress, and the best means of preventing its depredations. Something of this sort is expected by the lovers of agriculture from your liberal and useful institution.

It is said that some persons on Long Island grow a species of wheat, which this fly does not touch; but I have heard this contradicted by those who have been there. Would it not be worth while for the society to send a person of observation, before the ensuing harvest, to ascertain the matter? By his visiting a number of fields sowed with that kind of grain, in the neighbourhood of other wheat, the truth may be arrived at; and if such wheat is really cultivated with certainty, whilst other grain is destroyed, or injured, by the fly, I should suppose that no price for it would be esteemed too great for a sufficient quantity to supply a few farmers, with their whole necessary seed next August, on condition of delivering the produce at a stipulated price, to be distributed as seed-grain the succeeding year. I observe in the correspondence between M. de Chateauvieux and Mr. Duhamel, the former writes to the latter on the subject of insects, as follows.

“Our wheats, in this month

“of May, 1755, have been  
“subject to an accident, from  
“which even the grain cultivated by the new husbandry  
“is not exempt. A number of  
“white worms have been  
“found on it, which, after a  
“time, turn to a chestnut colour; they place themselves  
“betwixt the leaves and gnaw  
“the stalk; they are commonly found betwixt the first  
“joint and the root: the  
“stalks on which they fix are  
“immediately at a stand; they  
“grow yellow and wither.  
“The same accident happened  
“in 1732: these insects appeared about the middle of  
“May, and did so much damage that the crops were  
“scarcely worth any thing.”

This description of M. de Chateauvieux, answers in every respect to our Hessian fly; except that it conveys the idea of its having motion, which indeed all the letters I have seen published, would lead us to believe; whereas it remains in the spot the fly discharged it, with a certain portion of mucus, by which it is glued to the stalk, from whence it derives its nourishment. Sometimes but two or three of these fly-blows are deposited on a stalk of wheat; on others a dozen or more may be found, and are inevitable destruction to it. When these are deposited in the fall, whether they be few or many, that stalk perishes; but the root shoots out  
other



Other stalks immediately, if the weather continues favourable. If these second shoots escape the fly, they sometimes bear ears and grain, but of an inferior quality.

This insect did not advance to my neighbourhood, to be observed, until May, 1786. It is now increased to an alarming degree : infomuch that some fields of green wheat in Middlesex, Somerset, and Monmouth, were so much injured last October, as to induce their owners to plough them over, and sow rye. Other fields being partially injured, were left until their owners were enabled to judge what to do with them in the spring. Some have ploughed them over, and sowed spring-grain, which is certainly most advisable, because we are always sure of good spring-crops on land that has been well tilled the preceding summer, with the intention of sowing fall-grain.

The insect in question has been equally destructive in some places to rye, and has taken possession of timothy-grass. William Patterson, esq. of Brunswick, informs me that it had very much injured his fall-barley : but I have never yet received certain information, nor observed, that it has seized upon spring-barley, or oats ; though it has undoubtedly destroyed whole fields of spring-wheat in Morris county in this state.

This insect is in its several stages of fly, worm, and chrysalis, during all the spring, summer, and fall—between the last and first frosts. I mean there are repeated swarms of them during those seasons : but how long the respective broods are in each of those stages, I have not yet been able to determine. They remain in the last-mentioned stage all winter, attached to the stalk or heart of the wheat, by the mucus deposited there, with them, by the fly ; and do not travel, as I have perceived, down into the roots under ground, as I have heard it supposed. The first severe frost destroys all that are in the fly-state. Wheat and rye, sown after a severe frost, have been known to escape the fly until spring, and then have been partially injured by it. Whether any such fields have been entirely destroyed, I cannot say. I believe there is no doubt but this insect equally attacks grain sown in rich or poor soil : but the same number of them cannot equally affect one as the other, for reasons too obvious to need mentioning. Hence the farmer has encouragement to manure his lands well, and to hope for good crops.

I have heard of no remedy being discovered against the insect : but having myself been in the practice of rolling my grain in the fall and spring,  
G and

and of feeding it close the first dry weather in March or April, for other purposes; and my wheat having escaped the fly, whilst adjoining wheat of my neighbours was attacked, I have been led to conclude that the roller and the sheep have destroyed it in its chrysalis state, so far as to prevent any perceivable injury. Whether this is an effectual or only a partial remedy, remains to be determined by experience.

I have this spring both rolled and fed one field, and only fed another. Hitherto I perceive no depredations in either, although the flies were numerous in both last fall, when I did not roll, because both fields being very stony, and one remarkably so, I was desirous first to stone them, that the roller might have its proper effect: but I had not strength to complete either in time.

Would it not be proper for the society to request of their president, to write a letter to the president of the agricultural society of Geneva, giving the necessary information respecting the Hessian fly, and requesting to be informed if M. de Chateauvieux, or any others, found out a remedy for the insect described in his above-recited letter to Mr. Duhamel; and, if so, what that remedy was, &c.

If any member of the society can lend me a good microscope, I will endeavour to make further observations. From this time to harvest is an important season to do it in.

I am, with great respect,  
dear sir,

your most obedient,  
humble servant,  
GEORGE MORGAN.

The president of the Philadelphia agricultural society.

## MISCELLANIES.

### *Critical Reflections on Style.*

*By the late Dr. Ladd.*

"Est in quibusdam turba in-  
anum verborum, qui dum  
communem loquendi mo-  
rem reformidant, ducti  
specie nitoris, circumeunt  
omnia copiosa loquacitate  
quæ dicere volunt."

Quintil. lib. 7.

THE general depravation of style which distinguishes so many English writers of modern date, must afford matter of serious alarm to the real philologist. By men of the first reputation has found been substituted for sense, and tinsel for ornament. And we may anticipate a melancholy period, when the original

ginal end of writing shall be known only by the historic page. It is true, there are still writers, who consider the communication of ideas as a primary object : but, by far the greater number are absorbed in the structure of sentences. We may call them the style-builders of the age. Their manner is loose, florid, and pompous to the last degree. Their sentences are filled with sounding epithets, and periodized with the greatest harmony : but look not in their works, O reader, for ideas : the hapless authors never possessed them.

The celebrated Hervey appears to be the leader of the florid ; dr. Johnson, of the bombastic style. They have both had their share in the perversion of taste : and our present manner seems a compound of both. I have formerly mentioned Hervey, with perhaps too much severity, as a writer of no genius. The fallies of imagination, which are sometimes found in his works, have occasioned me in some measure to retract that opinion. His genius is notwithstanding trivial and cold ; his manner perfectly disgusting. He is followed by a mob of admirers, and the vulgar take pleasure in his style. But the croud of epithets, the pompous affectation, the tinsel description, and the continued swell of turgid, poetical diction, though

dazzling to the vulgar, are intolerable to the reader of real taste :

“ All glares alike, without  
“ distinction gay.”

The great secret of writing, as in painting, seems to consist in a regular and proper disposition of ornament. The painter could not be acknowledged an artist, without a knowledge of light and shade. Nor is it possible for the writer who is always on stilts, to be otherwise than tedious and disgusting. The Greek and Roman orators were so sensible of this important secret, that, in their public declamations, they frequently descended to the meanest style. They by these means gave more strength to every emphatical passage ; commanded more pathos ; and made their conspicuous ornaments, where ornaments were requisite, appear to the greatest advantage.

Dr. Johnson, setting aside his great popularity, was a more dangerous writer than Hervey. Hervey gave an example for bad style : Johnson corrupted the language. Tho' Hervey was faulty in manner, his matter was generally English : but it would puzzle an *Œdipus* to discover the language of Johnson. Hervey decorates the most awful subjects with a florid poetical style ; while Johnson stalks amidst trifles, in all the majesty of bombast.

Critics





"The sovereign arbiter of nature, by the potent energy of a single word, commanded the light to exist:" and, as Boileau has well observed, the style, indeed, is raised, but the thought is fallen. In general, in all good writing, the sublime lies in the thought, not in the words: and, when the thought is truly noble, it will, for the most part, clothe itself in a native dignity of language. The sublime, indeed, rejects mean, low, or trivial expressions; but is equally an enemy to such as are turgid. The main secret of being sublime, is, to say great things in few and plain words. It will be found to hold, without exception, that the most sublime authors are the simplest in their style: and wherever you find a writer, who affects a more than ordinary pomp and parade of words, and is always endeavouring to magnify his subject by epithets, there you may immediately suspect, that, feeble in sentiment, he is endeavouring to support himself by mere expression."

Mr. Burgoyne, a gentleman better distinguished by his pen than his sword, has attempted to introduce this false sublime into the business of common life. The language of the bar, noted as a dry jargon, shines in his page, with epithets, si-

miles, metaphors, and all the glitter of the frothy style. But of all productions in the sublime style, nothing for sublimity of nonsense, exceeds his famous proclamation. "In consciousness of christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honour of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation; and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression." What rotundity of period! What beauty of expression is here! A fox coming into a carver's shop, was struck with admiration, at a head the artist had just finished. Beautiful head! exclaimed the fox, what pity is it, that thou art destitute of brains!

This false taste, like an epidemic contagion, has infected the whole system of literature. Few are the writers of eminence, who have been able to avoid its influence. To stem the torrent of popular applause, requires a degree of fortitude almost superhuman; a fortitude, with which authors are seldom acquainted. The correct, the elegant Robertson, with sorrow we are obliged to observe, is not untainted. Even he has in some instances, given us examples of false ornament. But may the eye of criticism be ever partial to his failings; for with him our language shall live; when the authors of *Rambiers* and *Meditations*, shall slumber in oblivion.

At present, this alarming revolution of our taste, seems to be making hasty strides in common life. There are few readers, who think a writer tolerable, that is not magnificent. Overseers write florid letters to their employers; and men in business publish sublime advertisements!



### *On Hard Times.*

THE scarcity of cash is a general complaint, and it has got to be so fashionable to complain of hard times and the scarcity of money, that debtors seem to think that they have sufficiently satisfied their creditors, if they tell them the times are hard and money scarce. This has so long been the theme, that the people almost universally believe it, although it is a falshood. Every generation and age thinks the former days and times were better than the present. This, however, is a mistake, founded on false surmises, and vain imaginations. The original principles of human nature are the same in every age, and ever have been since the fall. Times are easy where men do their duty; but when they deviate from that, and enter the road of vice, indolence, and licentiousness, then difficulties embarrass, and troubles perplex them.

The complaint of hard times in this state is all imaginary;

and as for cash, according to my best information, there is enough in circulation for a medium. Those who complain the loudest of its scarcity, have nothing with which to purchase it. Indolence and extravagance in dress are the source from which all the evils so bitterly complained of, flow. Both reason and revelation teach us, that the human race were to live in this world by industry, and to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. On the productions of the earth we depend for subsistence; and spontaneous productions are not to be expected; the earth must be cultivated before she will yield her increase. In a country like this, it cannot be expected, that all the inhabitants should live by commerce; nor indeed but a very few, in proportion to the whole. Yet in this state, the people, as it were, drunk with the idea of gain, if they can but get into the mercantile line, are crowding into it, and to appearance seem to think that the whole community can live by buying and selling European gewgaus. This however is a mistake which time must teach and reform. Experience is the only teacher which mankind will believe; and when they have learned by a fair trial, that indolence and craft will not support them, they will turn to industry, and lead quiet and

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and peaceable lives, in diligence and honesty.

Agriculture is the very soul and life of this state; if that is neglected, difficulties will certainly arise. Our own manufactures must also be encouraged and carried on, if we mean to be an happy and independent people. For a few years past the farmers have, to appearance, been vying with the merchants in dress. They have neglected to manufacture their own wearing apparel; because, say they, our own manufactures are not so handsome as foreign, neither are they as durable or cheap. By this means they have reduced themselves to poverty, and now loudly complain of the hardness of the times. A different line of conduct must be adopted; industry and frugality must be the stability of our own and all other times.

In a free and independent state, where republican principles and sentiments are adopted, by the people at large, the idea of equality breathes thro' the whole, and every individual feels ambitious, to be in a situation not inferior to his neighbour. Among us, the idea of inferiority, as of pursuing a mean employment or occupation, for a livelihood, mortifies the feelings, and sours the minds of those who feel themselves inferior: and consequently the poor, to their great injury, strive to be equal with

the rich in dress, if in nothing else. The farmer in the field will be found clad in as delicate a garment as the merchant behind his counter: this is utterly wrong and cannot be supported. Let every one dress according to the business he is in. If a man's business is to measure off cloths, and deal out clean delicate goods to customers, he may as well dress neat and elegant as otherwise, and propriety dictates that he should. But if his employment be in the field, to plough and cultivate the earth, a different dress becomes him: and the old adage will ever hold true, "He that will increase in riches, must not hoe corn in silk breeches." A frock and trowsers is as becoming a dress for a farmer, when he is labouring in the field, as a ruffled shirt, a nankeen, velvet, or silk vest and breeches, and superfine broad cloth coat, is for the merchant in his shop. There is propriety, uniformity, and beauty to be observed in every thing, and every thing is beautiful in its proper place.

The other day I went to see some farmers who owed me a trifle. I found them in the field at work: one was clad in a velvet vest and breeches, and fine worsted stockings; the other in sattinet vest and breeches, stockings like his companion, and a fine holland shirt, with a ruffle at the bosom.

bosom. I asked them for the money they owed me ; and received payment in the solid coin of " money is exceedingly scarce : the times are very hard : and it is an impossible thing to get money." I offered to take stock, or almost any other article : but they had nothing to pay me, except land, and that they could not spare : so my debt was discharged by inability. The reason why I mention this circumstance, is, to shew that the extravagance of people to decorate their bodies, is the origin of their poverty ; and the hardness of the times arises from a foolish pride. Every man is honourably and elegantly dressed, when he is dressed suitable to the business he is doing.

Agriculture by some is thought a very mean employment : yet those who esteem it as such, I will venture to say are mere simpletons, and the true principles of honour are not in them. Is it more honourable to be a servant to every body, to weigh out an ounce of indigo, to draw a quart of melasses, to measure a yard of taste, and take two pence for it, than to cultivate the earth, and reap the yellow harvest--to procure the necessities and luxuries of life ? The employment of a farmer is really the most honourable of any on earth. Where or what would be the mechanic,

the lawyer, the physician, of the merchant, if it were not for the farmer ? Where or what would be the statesman, the prince, the emperor, or the monarch, with all their brilliant equipages, were it not for the farmer ? Where would be the dazzling cities, and their spiry pride, were it not for the farmer ? The branches are not so honourable as the root : let them not, therefore, boast of their own gaudy appearance, and despise the root that bears them. The husbandman surely is worthy of much honour, as he is the foundation on which kingdoms and empires stand. Monarchs and emperors are supported by the industry of the husbandman : and all their greatness stands on his shoulders. Let him, therefore, be honoured and respected, that his heart may be encouraged, and his hands strengthened, in his laborious and tiresome work.



*Petition of an African Slave,  
to the Legislature of Massachusetts.*

To the honourable the senate and house of representatives, in general court assembled :

The petition of Belinda, an African,

Humbly shews,

**T**HAT seventy years have rolled away, since she, on



On the banks of the Rio de Valta, received her existence. The mountains, covered with spicy forests—the vallies, loaded with the richest fruits, spontaneously produced—joined to that happy temperature of air, which excludes excess would have yielded her the most complete felicity, had not her mind received early impressions of the cruelty of men, whose faces were like the moon, and whose bows and arrows were like the thunder and the lightning of the clouds. The idea of these, the most dreadful of all enemies, filled her infant slumbers with horror, and her noon-tide moments with cruel apprehensions ! But her affrighted imagination, in its most alarming extension, never represented distresses equal to what she has since really experienced : for before she had twelve years enjoyed the fragrance of her native groves, and ere she realized that Europeans placed their happiness in the yellow dust, which she carelessly marked with her infant footsteps—even when she, in a sacred grove, with each hand in that of a tender parent, was paying her devotion to the great Orisa, who made all things, an armed band of white men, driving many of her countrymen in chains, rushed into the hallowed shades ! Could the tears, the sighs, and supplications, bursted from the tortured pa-

rental affection, have blunted the keen edge of avarice, she might have been rescued from agony, which many of her country's children have felt, but which none have ever described. In vain she lifted her supplicating voice to an insulted father, and her guiltless hands to a dishonoured deity! She was ravished from the bosom of her country, from the arms of her friends, while the advanced age of her parents, rendering them unfit for servitude, cruelly separated her from them for ever.

Scenes which her imagination had never conceived of, a floating world, the sporting monsters of the deep, and the familiar meetings of billows and clouds, strove, but in vain, to divert her attention from three hundred Africans in chains, suffering the most excruciating torment ; and some of them rejoicing that the pangs of death came like a balm to their wounds.

Once more her eyes were blest with a continent : but alas ! how unlike the land where she received her being ! Here all things appeared unpropitious. She learned to catch the ideas, marked by the sounds of language, only to know that her doom was slavery, from which death alone was to emancipate her. What did it avail her, that the walls of her lord were hung with splendor, and that the

dust trodden under foot in her native country, crouded his gates with sordid worshippers ! The laws rendered her incapable of receiving property : and though she was a free moral agent, accountable for her own actions, yet never had she a moment at her own disposal ! Fifty years her faithful hands have been compelled to ignoble servitude for the benefit of an Isaac Royall, until, as if nations must be agitated, and the world convulsed, for the preservation of that freedom, which the Almighty Father intended for all the human race, the present war commenced. The terrors of men, armed in the cause of freedom, compelled her master to fly, and to breathe away his life in a land, where lawless dominion sits enthroned, pouring blood and vengeance on all who dare to be free.

The face of your petitioner is now marked with the furrows of time, and her frame feeblely bending under the oppression of years, while she, by the laws of the land, is denied the enjoyment of one morsel of that immense wealth, a part whereof hath been accumulated by her own industry, and the whole augmented by her servitude.

Wherefore, casting herself at the feet of your honours, as to a body of men, formed for the extirpation of vassalage, for the reward of virtue, and the just returns of honest

industry--she prays that such allowance may be made her, out of the estate of colonel Royall, as will prevent her, and her more infirm daughter, from misery in the greatest extreme, and scatter comfort over the short and downward path of their lives : and she will ever pray.

BELINDA.

Boston, February, 1782.

*Address to the Heart, on the Subject of American Slavery.*

**A**WAKE ! ye whose hearts are attuned to sympathy ! ye whose minds have tasted the sweet cup of benevolence, and who profess humbly to imitate the glorious Saviour of the world ! deign for a moment to think, and despise not the meanest of your brethren, for the high and the low are of one blood ; the first and the last the same in the eye of heaven ! Be thankful that the Father of mercies has blessed you with abundance, that ye may diffuse happiness around you : and pride not yourselves in riches, for to the God of the rich and the poor, the whole earth belongs ; nor in knowledge, for ye are all born alike in ignorance.

Who can supplicate the God of the universe, and reject the supplications of his distressed creatures, over whom

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he has appointed them as stewards? Who can pray for mercy, rendering none? or expect gratitude, forgetting to be grateful? Remember who created you, and of what---of dust! Remember the condescension of Christ; how he loved you; his sufferings for your redemption, and at what price he bought it--the price of his blood! Remember the great command he gave to his followers, to love their neighbours as themselves, and to bestow benefits as they would receive them! Forget not yourselves for a moment, in the days of your prosperity, for the earth itself is in continual motion!

The miseries of many are full! The cries of oppressed men rise from the dust, for the iron hand of tyranny has long been heavy! Ye who repose under the delightful shades of peace--ye whose rights and property fear no invasion--ye whose nights of soft slumber are undisturbed, whose days are spent in conjugal love, and whose children are ripening in age, under the kind indulgencies of parental affection, forget, for a moment, the voluptuous couch, the luxurious table, the splendid equipage, the sumptuous robe, the enchanting scenes, and intoxicating pleasures, that surround you; and consider that many of your poor brethren are harrassed with the heavy

labour that procures them! you are enjoying the choicest fruits of the earth, and they considered only as beasts of burden. They have children as yourselves, and are subject to the same feelings.

The poor African is to-day reclining in the arms of balmy rest, under the tree which was planted by his father for a shade. His little infants are playing on his neck, as he rests on his couch of reeds. He smiles at their gambols, and the fathers of the valley arrive, to amuse with the tales of their former years, the men and maids who are gathering to the feast. The rice is ready, the fruits are collected, and the palm\* flows for the welcome guests. The warbling voice is loud in the fetid grove†: the song rises, and the dance begins. Their festive joys continue, and whilst innocence and virtue reign, the open eye of heaven approves. A cloud rises in the west. The journey of the whirlwind is not more rapid than its progress. The flames of the surrounding villages ascend, and the shrieks of the dying victims are now the only music of the groves! Can the bleating of the lamb raise the pity of the wolf? No: nor the cry of the babe

\* Palm-tree, from which runs their wine.

† Sacred grove of their gods.  
stay





that rock sits the night-hawk.  
Listen ! for the turtle-doves  
are cooing, and the mild notes  
of the woodland thrush, are  
still heard. The sun tinges the  
clouds : and how rich are the  
warm tints of the mountains !  
The evening star already twink-  
les : and the sable wing of  
night is spreading from the  
east. See that poor slave as-  
cending the hill under a heavy  
load. He whistles, for the sun  
is setting, and his time of rest  
is near. " He whistles, there-  
fore he is happy." No : he  
often walks pensively on the  
hill, and he sometimes rests  
his burden upon that old  
stump, saying : " Hark ! O  
sun ! thou, whose chearful  
beams have often enlivened  
my soul, thou art now sink-  
ing behind the world. When  
thou risest, thou wilt be-  
hold my country ! thou wilt  
see my wife and children !  
my wife and children ! Do  
they want bread ? Perhaps  
they lament the loss of Mor-  
ni ! He is far away : and to  
them, and to himself, Morni  
is dead ! Where dost thou  
live, O sun ! and where  
is thy bed ? When thou  
throwest upon my country  
thy first look in the mor-  
ning, the young men will  
rise with shouts of joy to  
string their bows, but---I  
am here ! When my wife  
rises, the labour of the day  
will be heavy, for Morni is  
here : and who shall help

" my babes, for their hands  
are still feeble ? The lion  
ranges free in the desert :  
and in his strength, the  
young lions rejoice : but  
where is the arm of Morni ?  
his children weep without  
help. They refuse now to  
taste the wine of his palms.  
They look at his cup : and  
the partner of his happy  
days mourns, for Morni is  
dead to her ! He wanders  
on the mountain far from  
her : he drinks at the little  
spring : but thou, O sun,  
drinkest the rest. Carry it  
with the morning to the  
grounds of my children ;  
and spare them from the  
misery of Morni ! When  
they retire to rest, let their  
slumbers be sweet, and let  
them not dream of Morni,  
for Morni shall behold them  
no more ! When I rise in  
the morning to the labour  
of the day, awake them not ;  
'tis too early. Thou art sink-  
ing fast, O sun ! and the  
dead song of night is heard  
now in the house of the wife  
of Morni. He is here on the  
dull mountain, and must  
go to his solitary hut. Who  
will receive him there ?  
Where is his wife ? Where  
are his children ? His wife  
gives him no welcome. His  
infants tell him not their  
pleasing tales. The soul of  
silence dwells in his hut !  
His faithful dog watches at  
his door : poor dog ! thou  
lovest

"lovest me, and thy master  
 "loves thee : but where is  
 "now his pleasure ? He shall  
 "see his family no more !  
 "Farewell, sun ! farewell,  
 "stars ! Be ye happy, and  
 "reign for ever ! Bless my  
 "master ! He is good : but he  
 "feels not the weight of the  
 "burden of Morni."—Again  
 he whistles, and retire behind  
 the hill.

Pause a while, ye of tender  
 minds ; and let the miseries of  
 others be your own. Look  
 upon your tender offspring :  
 remark ye not the innocence  
 of your babes ? see ye not the  
 pleasing smiles of your beau-  
 tiful daughters ? the ripening  
 knowledge of your vigorous  
 sons ? They reward in the eve-  
 ning the toils of the weary  
 day. Your labours are forgot-  
 ten. They are happy : and  
 the hearts of their parents  
 unite in rapturous embraces,  
 giving praise to the God of  
 mercy : happy days ! happy  
 years ! roll on ! No : forget  
 them : the winter of your  
 joys comes. Behold the bloody  
 flag of a pirate ! your tender  
 smiling babes are torn from  
 you : and ye see them still  
 smiling in heavenly innocence  
 on their barbarous captors !  
 The hair of your beauteous  
 virgins is whirled in the desert  
 blast ; and their piercing cries  
 disregarded by their cruel  
 spoilers ! The hands of your  
 sons are fettered. Their heavy  
 hearts heave in silence : and

their knees totter under the  
 weighty spoils of their own  
 fathers. The big tear bedews  
 the palid cheek of the mother  
 of misery : but the father's is  
 dry, and his eye fixed in  
 horror.

The morn arrives, and the  
 sun shines as yesterday ; the  
 sky as serene as before : the  
 flowers smell as sweet as ever :  
 the birds sing with equal  
 melody : the river runs as  
 smoothly, the tree appears as  
 stately, and its boughs play  
 with the zephyr : the distant  
 grove looks as purple, and the  
 hill in the horizon has the  
 same blue tint : but the mind  
 of man is in a dark cloud—  
 the gloomy night still hangs  
 over his soul. The day, tho'  
 alive, is dead to man, and its  
 beauties are now no more.



*An Account of the melan-  
 choly situation, and the sur-  
 prising deliverance of a  
 young man, occasioned by  
 a late rising of Susque-  
 hannah river.*

**SUSQUEHANNAH** river  
 has hardly been known to  
 rise to that height, and so sud-  
 denly as in the last freshes.  
 Two young men in separate  
 canoes, went out to a fish-pot  
 in the evening, in order to get  
 some fish ; one of them being  
 more accustomed to attend the  
 fishery, perceived the river  
 rising very fast, and told the  
 other to hasten ashore ; but he

was

was so entertained in seeing the fish tumbling into the pot, that he delayed, till he was convinced of his danger. He then made loose his canoe, and made towards shore; but by this time the river ran so rapidly, and still rising so fast, and he being unacquainted how to manage his little vessel, was carried down the stream, and driven on an island near Bald Friar ferry.

He instantly made fast his canoe, and climbed a tree:--- he had the presence of mind to conclude he must lodge in the tree that night, and very probably might slumber or sleep, and consequently fall into the river: for by this time the island was overflowed, and the river rising greatly.

He then descended the tree, and waded to where he left his canoe, but behold it was gone; the water had risen so fast, that the staple was drawn out, and left the chain as he had fastened it. He then took his chain and climb'd up the tree, and tied himself fast, so that if he should fall asleep, he might be preserved from falling.

In this distressing situation he continued three days and three nights, without any sustenance, the river still rising and tearing up by the roots almost every tree on the island. No door of hope seemed to open for his relief. He was discovered by sundry people,

but none would dare to venture for his help: besides, there was not a vessel left on shore for some considerable distance, all having been swept down the rapid stream.

At length two resolute young men went in quest of a vessel, and got a large canoe three or four miles up the river; the owner told them they were welcome to it, but was much afraid of the consequence: yet, as their intention was great and laudable, he hoped providence would protect them.

They then stript off, and set out, and in a very little time arrived at the island, found the poor young man in the position above described, took off his chain, put him on board, and carried him safe on shore.

The extacy he was in when his relief came, cannot be described:---He burst into a flood of tears.

It is remarkable, when they got on shore, and had a steep hill to ascend to a house, he appeared to have more strength and activity than the others, notwithstanding his long abstinence. He says, during the time he continued on the tree, he felt no desire for any food, but was somewhat dry the last day; but when he got to the house, he drank excessively of water.

Surely we may take up the psalmist's grateful and affecting language, so often repeated

ed in the 107th psalm: "O  
" that men would praise the  
" Lord for his goodness, and  
" for his wonderful works to  
" the children of men!"



*The influence of Free Masonry upon Society, philosophically enquired into: with an account of the Institution.*

**T**HE facts which I shall attempt to prove, in the present investigation, are these: that the institution of free masonry has an absolute tendency to inculcate every thing laudable and useful to society; and that its leading qualities are philanthropy well directed, morality pure, secrecy inviolable, and a taste for the fine arts.

It may be observed, that Solon, Lycurgus, Numa, and all the other political legislators, have not been able to render their establishments durable; and that however sagacious might have been their laws, they had at no time the power to expand themselves over all countries, and in all ages. Having little more in view than victories and conquests, military violence, and the elevation of one people above another, they were never universal, nor consonant to the taste, or genius, or interest of all nations. Philanthropy was not their basis. The love of country, badly

understood, and pushed into limits on which they should not verge, often destroys in warlike republics, the love of general humanity. Men are not to be essentially distinguished by the difference of tongues which they speak, of clothes which they wear, of countries which they inhabit, nor of dignities with which they are ornamented. The whole world is no other than one great republic, of which each nation is a family, and each individual a child.

It was to revive and reanimate such maxims, that the society of free masons was first instituted. The great and first design was to unite all men of sense, knowledge, and worthy qualities, not only by a reciprocal love of the fine arts, but still more by the great principles of virtue, where the interest of the fraternity might become that of the whole human race; where all nations might increase in knowledge; and where every subject of every country might exert himself without jealousy, live without discord, and embrace mutually, without forgetting, or too scrupulously remembering, the spot in which he was born. What obligations do we not owe to those superior souls, who, without listening to the suggestions of interest, or the natural desire to surpass others in power, first conceived an establish-

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establishment, whose end was the re-union of the understanding and the heart, to render both better by the contact!

The sanctity, which attends the moral qualities of this society, is the next branch of the subject worthy of observation. Religious orders were instituted to make men more perfect christians: military orders were founded to inspire a love of glory: but the order of masonry was instituted to moralize and form men into good citizens and good subjects; to make them inviolable in their promises, faithful votaries to the god of friendship, humane, and more lovers of liberality than of recompence.

But free masonry is not bounded by the display of virtues merely civil. As a severe, savage, sorrowful, and misanthropic kind of philosophy, disgusts its votaries, so the establishment under consideration, renders men amiable by the attraction of innocent pleasures, pure joys, and rational gaieties. The sentiments of this society are not such as a world which loves ridicule, may be tempted to suppose. Every vice of the head and the heart is excluded. Libertinism, irreligion, incredulity, and debauchery, are banished as unqualified. The meetings of the masons resemble those amiable entertain-

ments spoken of by Horace, where all those are made welcome guests, whose understandings may be enlightened, whose hearts may be mended, or who may be any way emulous to excel in the true, the good, or the great.

"O noctes cœnæque Deum!  
"Sermo oritur non de regnis, domi-  
"busque alienis:  
-----"Sed quod magis ad nos  
"Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agi-  
"tamus: utrumne  
"Divitis homines, an sint virtute  
"beati?"

From the society in question, are banished all those disputes, which might alter the tranquillity of friendship, or interrupt that perfect harmony, which cannot subsist but by rejecting all indecent excesses, and every discordant passion. The obligation imposed upon this order, is, that every member is to protect a brother, by his authority; to edify him by his virtues; to assist him in any exigence; to sacrifice all personal resentment; and to seek diligently for every thing that may contribute to the pleasure and profit of the society.

True it is, that this society hath its secrets: but let not those who are not initiated, laugh at the confession: for those figurative signs, and sacred words, which constitute, among free masons, a language sometimes mute and sometimes eloquent, will prevent imposition, communicating at the greatest distance, and dis-

tinguish the true member from the false, of whatever country or tongue he may be.

Another quality required of those who enter into the order of free masonry, is a taste for all useful sciences, and liberal arts of all kinds. Thus the decorum expected from each of the members, is a work which no academy nor university has so well established. The name of free mason, therefore, ought not to be taken in a literal sense, as if the institutors had been really workers in stone and in marble. There were not only able architects, but many princes, both warlike and religious, dedicated their talents and their fortunes, under this banner, to the Most High.

And this leads me naturally to present an abridged history of the origin and progress of the order of free masonry.

In the times of the holy wars in Palestine, a great number of princes, nobles, and citizens, entered into a scheme to establish christian temples in the holy land; and engaged themselves to employ their talents and fortunes to give them all the primitive advantages of architecture. They agreed amongst themselves to use certain signs and symbolical words to distinguish themselves. These mysteries were never communicated but to those who solemnly promised at the foot of the altar, never

to reveal them. But this sacred promise, so far from being the impious and unmeaning oath which some people imagine, was that respectable guarantee, in order to unite men of all nations in the same confraternity. Free masonry, therefore, ought not to be looked upon as a revival of bacchanalian dissipation, or scandalous intemperance; but as a moral order, instituted by virtuous men, with a view to recall the remembrance of the most sublime truths, in the midst of the most innocent and social pleasures, founded on liberality, morality, and charity.

The kings, princes, and noblemen, on their return from the holy land, established a number of lodges: and in the time of the last crusade, we find several of these were erected in Germany, Italy, France, and Spain.

King James of Scotland was grand master of a lodge established at Kilwinning, in the year 1286, a short time after the death of Alexander the third, one year before Baliol mounted the throne. This prince received into his lodge, the earls of Gloucester and Ulster.

After the expiration of the crusades, the discomfiture of the christian armies, and the triumph of Bendoeder, sultan of Egypt, Henry III. of England, seeing there was no longer any security for the masons

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maſons in the holy land, led them from Paleſtine, and eſta- bliſhed his colony of bro- thers in England.

As prince Edward was en- dowed with all thoſe qualities of the heart and underſtand- ing, which form the hero, he publicly declared himſelf pro- tector of the order; and gave it the name of the free maſon ſociety. From England, the inſtitution paſſed into France; and ſpread itſelf into Germa- ny, under the protection and patronage of the late king of Pruſſia. It is, at this time, flouriſhing in all the civilized ſtates of Europe and America, alſo in the European ſettle- ments in the Eaſt Indies. Its univerſality is a proof of its value and worthy tendency: and if, by means of this ſhort eſſay, any one acquires a clear- er idea of its origin and intent than he had before, the pains and purpoſe of writing it will be amply answered.

—♦♦♦—

*Conſequences of Extrava-  
gance.*

Mr. Printer,

**B**EFORE the war, I moved my family from a neigh- bouring ſtate to this city, hoping to indulge my wife, to live happy, and to bring up my children in the way of uprightneſs, frugality, and in- duſtry. When we arrived here, my wife, although married but two years, had bleſſed me with

a fine boy and a girl. All the attendants in my family were a lad I brought with me, and a female hired here.

Frugality, and ſtrict atten- tion to a little ſhop, in which I did buſineſs to advantage, made me a happy man: but as ſoon as our neighbours found we were thriving, vi- ſitors crouded from all the houſes in the ſquare, to pay their reſpects to my wife. This gave me great ſatiſfaction at firſt; but was afterwards the occaſion of much diſquiet to me: for, from this time, my wife gave me no peace nor aſ- ſiſtance. She wondered how I could remain a poor retailer of goods, when men of leſs abilities than I, were mer- chants: and, for her part, ſhe would ſtand no more behind my counter, to be a ſhop- woman.

Men, in general, have a good opinion of themſelves: and I thought, with my wife, that a more extenſive way of buſineſs might advance our character, fortune, and the intereſt of our family. I com- menced merchant extenſive- ly; was concerned in ſhips; wrote at offices, without fear, every riſque that offered, al- though, when I arrived in this city, all my fortune was four hundred dollars, and a hun- dred and ten pounds made clear by keeping ſhop. This was my beginning as a mer- chant. As I was now in a fair  
way

way of doing well, visitors increased. I took a convenient house, at the desire or command of my wife; and increased my servants to house-keeper, cook, kitchen-maid, chambermaid, wet and dry nurse, and waiting man. The visitors of my wife began to think that she (poor deceived girl) was more of a lady than any of the club: but if she should set up a carriage, nothing would keep her from being at the head of her acquaintance. This of all things pleased my wife.

One morning, as we were conversing in bed, she appeared remarkably loving; and seemed as if all her attention was placed on pleasing me. After this, and passing some compliments on my success as a merchant, and the exertions I was making to advance the interest of our little ones, she said that nothing was now wanting, as her female friends told her, to make her rank with the first in the place, but a neat chariot, and a pair of bays. This I started at, and positively refused: on which a controversy took place, which forced me to remind my wife, of her and my situation a few years ago: but all in vain. For two weeks I lived the life of a dog. The visitors, when I came into the room, would not speak to me: and, in short, my poor wife was so far misled, as to leave my

house, and sleep for twenty-two nights at the house of one of her friends. All this time, my character was in the hands of gossips: and, at last, the men began to look shily on me: and indeed some of them, who were very intimate, declined the civilities of the hat, declaring that a bad husband ought be put in Coventry by all good ones. Of all this I knew the meaning; but was sorry I could not have weight enough with my wife, to explain, to her conviction, the situation of my affairs, in such a manner, as to convince her of the impropriety of her desire. Every attempt of this sort was in vain: for her friends (although she had not one in the place) told her I was a man of fortune; that I wanted to break her heart, by keeping her from the things she was entitled to, that another wife, younger than her, might enjoy what was her right.

I begged my wife to let her reason return; and not to believe mischievous, ill-disposed people, who had a design on her happiness and mine, and in a particular manner on the future welfare of our children. All this was to no purpose: for she declared she had it from the best authority, I was a man of great fortune; and if I did not live up to it, she must leave me the six small children, and would go elsewhere: for to be

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kept without the comforts other women had, was what she would not submit to. On this I looked at my dear deluded wife, with our six sweet children; and told her, and the eldest girl, who was entirely in her mother's belief, although a child, that I should comply with what was wished from me. Yet knowing my own situation, which was bad enough from losses in a variety of ways, I told her that we would all have reason to repent this sacrifice of justice for an appearance of greatness. This, to my wife, had the appearance of a sentiment from a niggardly husband.

In short, the carriage was got, and the bays were put to it. Up one street it went, and down another, till the wheels, in nine days, were all dashed to pieces. Our driver was an Englishman, who could touch the post at every corner, in full trot, without doing the least injury. This, of all things, pleased my wife: but my fears for her were great, as the fellow never went on the box, without a bottle of the best Madeira. For six months, we were the only people in the neighbourhood of any consequence. Our house was full at all hours of the day: and the best of every thing was handed to the most common acquaintance. Of all this I made a calculation; and found my expences, in four

months, to amount to seventeen hundred dollars. The statement I handed to my wife, who, by this time, had got her mind a little composed. She began to think for herself, and what would be the consequence of this shameful extravagance, and determined to live happy with her family as usual---banishing the croud of visitors, who not only deceived her, but from a spirit of wickedness, reported that her only motive for getting a carriage, was to indulge herself in an impure, illicit way, to be revenged of me for depriving her of things which others of her acquaintance had.

The cursed carriage is sent to Virginia. The bay horses were sent over to Jersey, and, in the last rising of the waters, drowned. The cook, of all things the most pernicious in a family, is sent off: also the chambermaid, (who, by-the-bye, often threw herself in my way, that she might be mistaken for her mistress in her absence), with the wet nurse, (who, in my opinion, was as dangerous in my house, as the overflowings of a tide in my store), are banished: and now my dear wife and I, when the affair of her character is settled, which I think will take up two courts, will begin to live as we formerly did.

The above relation I send you in order that others may profit

profit by it—but in particular undesigning good-hearted women, who are exceedingly mistaken, when they conceive all those their friends, who drink tea with them.



*Meteorological Imaginations and Conjectures. By Benjamin Franklin, L. L. D. F. R. S. Acad. Reg. Scient, Paris. Soc. &c.*

**T**HERE seems to be a region higher in the air over all countries, where it is always winter, where frost exists continually, since, in the midst of summer, on the surface of the earth, ice falls often from above in the form of hail.

Hailstones, of the great weight we sometimes find them, did not probably acquire their magnitude before they began to descend. The air, being eight hundred times rarer than water, it is unable to support it but in the shape of vapour, a state in which its particles are separated. As soon as they are condensed by the cold of the upper region, so as to form a drop, that drop begins to fall. If it freezes into a grain of ice, that ice descends. In descending, both the drop of water and the grain of ice are augmented by particles of the vapour they pass through in falling, and which they condense by their coldness, and attach to themselves.

It is possible, that, in sum-

mer, much of what is rain, when it arrives at the surface of the earth, might have been snow when it began its descent; but being thawed in passing through the warm air near the surface, it is changed from snow into rain.

How immensely cold must be the original particle of hail, which forms the centre of the future hailstone, since it is capable of communicating sufficient cold, if I may so speak, to freeze all the mass of vapour condensed round it, and form a lump of perhaps six or eight ounces in weight!

When, in summer time, the sun is high, and continues long every day above the horizon, his rays strike the earth more directly, and with longer continuance, than in the winter; hence the surface is more heated, and to a greater depth, by the effect of those rays.

When rain falls on the heated earth, and sinks down into it, it carries down with it a great part of the heat, which by that means descends still deeper.

The mass of earth, to the depth perhaps of thirty feet, being thus heated to a certain degree, continues to retain its heat for some time. Thus the first snows that fall in the beginning of winter, seldom lie long on the surface, but are soon melted, and so absorbed. After which, the winds that blow over the country on  
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which the snows had fallen, are not rendered so cold as they would have been by those snows, if they had remained. And thus the approach of the severity of the winter is retarded; and the extreme degree of its cold is not always at the time we might expect it, viz. when the sun is at its greatest distance and the day shortest, but some time after that period, according to the English proverb, which says, "as the day lengthens, the cold strengthens," the causes of refrigeration continuing to operate, while the sun returns too slowly, and his force continues too weak to counteract them.

During several of the summer months of the year 1783, when the effect of the sun's rays to heat the earth, in these northern regions, should have been greatest, there existed a constant fog over all Europe, and great part of North America. This fog was of a permanent nature; it was dry, and the rays of the sun seemed to have little effect towards dissipating it, as they easily do a moist fog, arising from water. They were indeed rendered so faint in passing through it, that when collected in the focus of a burning-glass, they would scarcely kindle brown paper: of course, their summereffect, in heating the earth, was exceedingly diminished.

Hence the surface was early frozen.

Hence the first snows remained on it unmelted, and received continual additions.

Hence the air was more chilled, and the winds more severely cold.

Hence, perhaps, the winter of 1783-4, was more severe than any that had happened for many years.

The cause of this universal fog is not yet ascertained. Whether it was adventitious to this earth, and merely a smoke proceeding from the consumption, by fire, of some of those great burning balls or globes, which we meet with in our rapid course round the sun, and which are sometimes seen to kindle and be destroyed in passing our atmosphere, and whose smoke might be attracted and retained by our earth; or whether it was the vast quantity of smoke long continuing to issue, during the summer, from Hecla, in Iceland, and that other volcano, which arose out of the sea, near that island, which smoke might be spread by various winds over the northern part of the world, is yet uncertain.

It seems, however, worth the enquiry, whether other hard winters, recorded in history, were preceded by similar permanent and widely extended summer fogs. Because, if found to be so, men might, from such fogs, conjecture the probability of a succeeding hard winter, and of the damage

mage to be expected by the breaking up of frozen rivers in the spring; and take such measures as are possible and practicable, to secure themselves and effects from the mischiefs that attended the last.

*Passy, May, 1784.*

Mr. Printer,

YOU are requested, by a constant reader, to insert the enclosed journal of the siege of York-town, taken by a field officer, who acted no inconsiderable part in that auspicious event. Although the matter is not recent, yet most of your readers will receive pleasure in perusing an account of the last scene which guaranteed our independence.

*Siege of York and Gloucester,  
Virginia.*

Sept. 17, **G**ENERAL 1781. Washington arrived at Williamsburgh; received the marquis de la Fayette's command, and count St. Simons's troops, which had arrived the 30th of August, with count de Grasse, and landed at James-town the 3d instant.

21. First division of the northern army arrived in James's river. The 23d and 24th, almost the whole got in, and landed. The 27th, the whole army moved, and encamped in

a line, three quarters of a mile advanced off Williamsburgh, distant from York-town eleven miles.

28. The whole moved at day-light: after two halts, arrived within a mile and a half of the enemy's works: displayed, and lay on our arms all night. Beaver-pond creek, and morasses in our front, over which bridges were built that night: and general Muhlenbergh's brigade of light infantry formed a picquet in advance.

29. About sun-rise moved to within 3-4ths of a mile of the enemy's out-works, and displayed in two lines a ravine in front, to view our ground; advanced small parties in front to cover our reconnoitring parties. At four P. M. moved to our ground on the right, and encamped within range of the enemy's artillery in two lines: advanced a line of picquets in front, and increased our camp guards.

30. The enemy seeing we should turn their left, and get between their out-works and the town, abandoned the whole of them, and retired to town a little before day-light, leaving a few light horse to protect their rear. Colonel Scammel being officer of the day, advanced to reconnoitre, and report accordingly, when he was intercepted, wounded, and taken, by a few light horse, who had lain concealed.

[He



[He died of his wounds in six days]. Both lines were put in motion, and advanced with caution to their works, suspecting some feint of the enemy. Lay on our arms all that night. The light infantry remained on the ground, as a covering party to the fatigued men, busied in erecting a chain of redoubts to guard our camp, and cover our working parties, occupied in procuring materials for the siege.

31. The light infantry relieved by Wayne's division this evening. The redoubts completed this night, and filled with a proper number of troops.

From the 1st to the 6th of October, employed in preparing materials, getting up our artillery, &c. At six o'clock, moved on the ground, and opened our first parallel, about six hundred yards from the enemy's works, under cover by day-light. No accident. Continued working till morning.

7. The light troops entered in line reversed, with drums beating, and colours flying; planted their standards on the top of the line of the parallel; continued working on the batteries, which were completed about five o'clock.

9. P. M. the enemy received the first shot from us, which was continued with spirit from cannon and mortars. The enemy's fire slack-

ened. Several of their guns were dismounted: and they were obliged to fill up their entrenchments.

10. Light infantry mounted: and the Charon of 44, and two smaller vessels, were burned by some hot shot from the left of the line, commanded by count St. Simon. This happened about eight o'clock in the evening, the weather being serene and calm, and afforded an awful and melancholy sight. The Charon was on fire from the water's edge to her truck at the same time. I never saw any thing so magnificent.

11. In the evening, the second parallel opened by E. Steuben's division. This parallel was carried on with amazing rapidity, at 360 yards distance from the enemy's batteries, under a very heavy fire, the enemy's shot and shells directed at the workmen; our shot and shells going over our heads in a continual blaze the whole night. The sight was beautifully tremendous. We lost but one man, shot by our own men, the gun not being sufficiently elevated, or being fired with a bad carriage.

12th, 13th, and 14th. Continued completing the batteries of the second parallel, and wounding their abattis, and frize-works with our shot and shells. About two o'clock, P. M. the out-defences of two

redoubts, that were advanced on their left 250 yards in their front, were thought sufficiently weakened, to attempt them that evening by storm. The light infantry were relieved, and directed to refresh themselves with dinner and a nap. About dusk, they moved on, under the marquis, and were in possession of one, in nine minutes. The other, by the French grenadiers and light infantry, under baron Viomenil, was carried nearly about the same time, when the second parallel was continued on, and enveloped these two redoubts, and finished a line of communication between the rights of the first and second parallel of upwards of a mile, before day-light next morning. The whole of this was performed under a very incessant and heavy fire from the enemy, with amazing steadiness and expedition.

15. Employed in repairing the redoubts, and erecting batteries, now within reach of the enemy's grape, rifle, and wall-pieces.

16. This night, a timid, ill-conducted sortie was attempted under lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with about six hundred men. They entered the parallel about the centre, nearly between the French and American troops, at a battery erecting by the Americans, not completed. They killed a serjeant and two pri-

vates of captain Savage's company of artillery; spiked six guns with the end of their bayonets, which they broke off in the vent-holes; turned about; and went off with the greatest precipitation. In their retreat, they were pursued, and lost twelve men---six killed, four wounded, two taken: the light infantry in the trenches. Lord Cornwallis, in his account of the matter, says our loss was upwards of one hundred.

17. Light infantry still in the trenches. Between ten and eleven, A. M. chamade beat, and propositions for surrender sent out by his lordship: received by the marquis, and forwarded to head-quarters. Cessation of firing about twenty minutes, till flag had returned within their works. On our resuming the fire, a second chamade beat: and the officer returning, was told, the answer, as soon as received from head-quarters, would be forwarded. The firing on both sides re-commenced, and went on as usual, only small intermissions, during the passing of two or three letters from each side. Light infantry relieved by the baron Steuben's division: and the business being concluded that evening, the firing ceased about five o'clock, P. M. The 18th and part of the 19th, taken up in adjusting matters, viz. articles of capitulation, public letters, &c.

19. P. M.

19, P. M. They marched out, and laid down their arms. The whole of the king's troops, including sailors and marines, amounted to 8054, officers included.

Thus ended this business, in nine days from our breaking ground.

The whole of our strength, including every person that drew provisions by the commissary-general's return, amounted to 12,200. Our loss was 324 killed, wounded, and died in the hospital; sick in the hospital about 600; unfit for duty, 830. So that when the necessary detail of the whole army was completed, his lordship was never opposed by more than an equal number. Very frequently, from our great fatigue, parties at a considerable distance from the camp, and trenches two miles, had he come out to us, we could have opposed him with but very few more than two-thirds of his number. This, I believe, will be allowed by any officer of discernment, who was acquainted with the details of the victorious combined army.



*On the Sympathy between the  
Breeches Pocket and the  
Animal-Spirits.*

THE following important discovery is recommended to the *literati* in general, but particularly to the college

of *Physicians*, as it may be of the greatest consequence to them in their future practice.

You must know, then, that a wonderful connection and sympathy has lately been observed between the *breeches-pocket* and the *animal spirits*, which continually rise or fall as the contents of the former ebb or flow; insomuch, that from a constant observation, I could venture to guess at a man's current cash, by the degree of vivacity he discovers in his conversation. When this cutaneous reservoir is flush, the spirits too are elate: when that is sunk and drained, how flat, dull, and insipid, is every word or action? the very muscles and features of the face are influenced by this obscure fund of life and vigor. The heart proves to be only the inert receptacle of the blood, and those grosser spirits which serve for the animal function: but the pocket is fraught with finer and more sublime spirits, which constitute the *wit* and many distinguishing characters.

I could tell how a poet's finances stood by the subject of his muse:---gloomy elegies, biting satires, grave soliloquies and dull translations, are certain indications of the *res angusta*; as pindaric odes, and pointed epigrams, intimate a fresh recruit. So a grave politician, who frequents the *Kouli Kohn*, when these pocket

pocket qualms are on him, gives the most melancholy and deplorable account of the state of the union: the increase of taxes, the abuse of the public revenue, the foreign and domestic debt, the decay of trade and agriculture, and the excess of luxury, are the continual topics of his discourse: but when the cold fit of this intermitting disorder leaves him, the scene is quite altered, and he is eternally haranguing on the glorious events of the revolution, and the power, grandeur, and wealth of the confederated empire. In short, this barometer of state, always rises or falls, not as the *quick*, but *current* silver, contracts or expands itself within its secret cell.

Under the influence of the same powerful charm, I have remarked a physician, in the chamber of a wealthy patient, clear up his countenance, and prescribe with infinite vivacity and good humour; but in the abode of poverty, what a clouded brow, hopeless vibration of the head, and langour of the nerves? like the sensitive plant, he shrunk from the cold hand of necessity. Not that the doctor wanted humanity, but when a patient becomes a mere *caput mortuum*, and the *anima sacculi* expires, what sympathizing heart but must be sensible of so dire a change?

It is impossible to record a

tenth part of the wonderful effects this latent source of life and spirits has produced on the animal œconomy. What smiles of complacency and cringing adulation to *Billy Myrtle*, who no sooner turns his back, than contempt and derision overtake him! What can this be owing to, but the secret influence of the divinity which throws a sort of awe and veneration about him? What but this magic power could have transformed *Ned Traffic* into gentleman, Justice Doodlè into a wit, or Squire Jehu into a man of taste? What but this could give poignancy to the most insipid jokes, and weight to the most superficial arguments of *Rory Magnifico*? 'Tis this, that with more than tutelary powers, protects its votaries from insults and oppressions; that silences the enraged accuser, and snatches the sword from the very hand of justice; that transforms *Hymen* into *Mammon*, and the *god of love* into a satyr. In short, there is nothing wonderful it has not effected, except making us wise, virtuous and happy.

I could spin this ductile golden thread *ad infinitum*; but I fear there is already as much as the patience of the candid reader will allow him to wind up: so cutting it short, and kissing your hand, I am yours, &c. PETOSI.

Philad. May 27, 1787.

Mr.



Mr. Printer,

*Nil fuit tam dispar sibi.*

**I**T is an ancient observation, that *vicissitude* is the only thing certain in the world. The fact extends to changes and revolutions of every kind: but of all living beings, none is more variable than *man*. He is a creature perpetually falling out with himself, and sustains two or three opposite characters every day he lives; is chearful and angry, pleased and displeasing, cynical and good-humoured, and all perhaps in the space of half an hour. Any person may illustrate this remark by a short review of his acquaintance: but as every one is not inclined to take the trouble of investigation, or may not, perhaps, consider it as a proper use of his companions (though of what greater service can our friends be, than to furnish rules and examples for the regulation of our conduct?) I shall present you with a few instances drawn from the narrow circle to which my observation has been confined.

I sometimes pay a visit to my old friend, George Weathercock, and should oftener, was he always in the same humour, or near it: but he is in a continual state of war with himself. He is an enemy to his own peace, and therefore cannot be a great friend to that of any body else. As

soon as George hears me at the door, he meets me with all the joy imaginable; and professes the utmost pleasure at the visit: yet scarce has one half hour passed away, but he grows quite tired of *himself* and *me*. As I please him in coming to him, I humour him no less in going from him. He is sorry when I do not come; and would be equally sorry, if I did not go. I am never from him, but he wants to see me: and he never sees me, but he wants to be from me again. Some evenings I spend in company where there is an old humorist, much of this turn of mind. The first time I saw him, I happened to drop in, when he had just finished his first bottle: and, by the catches he sung, and the pleasant tales he told, I took him for one of the best-natured old gentlemen I had ever met with. The next night, I saw him at the coffee-house, disputing upon politics; and found him the dullest, most conceited, and positive old fellow that ever lived. Nothing could please him. He found fault, snarled, and censured every thing that was said. We adjourned, with some friends, to the city-tavern, and after three or four glasses of good claret, I found that gloominess began to dispel; he grew wondrous *kind* and *facetious*, and kept up this good humour till the repeated bumpers settled

tled him in a sound nap ; after which he awaked that dogged, furly cynic we found him at the coffee-house. This gentleman, it appears, was never agreeable but when he was near *drunk*, and never disagreeable but when he was quite *sober*.

But of all the variable creatures, none can compare with Limberham, whose life is a strange medley of *religion* and *debauchery*. He lives in a *brothel* four days in a week, and spends the other three in *prayer* and *repentance* ; and when he thinks he may have reconciled himself to heaven, and set aside his sins, he returns to them again, and makes new work for new devotion.

Thus *whim*, *wine*, and *affliction* can make a man differ from nothing so much as he does from himself ; but let us enquire whether *pride*, *good fortune*, *disappointment*, &c. have not the same power, and produce not the same effects.

We are generally so partial to ourselves that whatever good fortune we have, we immediately ascribe it to our own *merit*, rather than to *providence*, *chance*, or the *friendship* of others, and value ourselves on our *worth*, when we should rejoice at our *fortune*. If you approach a man after any new acquisition of wealth or honour, with that degree of freedom and familiarity you before used, his haughty behaviour will soon inform

you, that you are unacquainted with a new accumulation of merit, which should command a greater degree of deference and respect.

Billy Myrtle was some time ago, a good-natured, affable, honest fellow. I was intimate with him, and many agreeable hours we have spent with a familiarity that is necessary for friendship. I perceived, indeed, some seeds of grandeur and haughtiness rising in him on his *father's* being taken ill. From a quiet, peaceable young gentleman, he grew noisy and conceited, supercilious towards strangers, and impertinent towards his acquaintance. His father's illness increased, and consequently my friend's *pride* ; but still he retained a decent respect for me, till his father *died*. When I came to congratulate him on succeeding to the estate, I immediately found that *William Myrtle, esquire*, was in no ways the same person I was before acquainted with, called *Billy Myrtle*. Instead of his usual way of saluting me, *dear Harry*, he began *mr. Hogarth*. His indifference increased as his *liveries* came home ; and by the first day he went out in his *new chariot*, he entirely forgot me : but as he had forgotten *himself*, it gave me no surprise or uneasiness that he should not remember *me*.

But Jack Lace differs from *himself*, not according as he himself

himself appears, but according to the appearance of his friends, and is intimate, more or less, just as the dress they wear, makes any figure. A person, who is sometimes his crony, may pass him in the streets twenty times; and if he is not dressed, Jack always takes care to turn his head another way, and betrays a great deal of concern for fear of receiving a bow. Meet him at a tea party in the evening; he'll protest a prodigious joy at the sight of the person he in the morning so industriously shunned. He laughs aloud, talks aloud with you, and takes care that the whole company shall know that he and you are particularly intimate. Next morning you appear in another dress, and he in another opinion.

As Jack's opinion of you depends on your dress and figure, Malvolio's is regulated by your presence or absence. He never was the enemy of any man in the company, or the friend of any man out of it. With a character for learning, his conversation is nothing but invective; and with an affectation of sentiment, his actions are free from benevolence. If the foibles of the individual escape for a moment, it is only to admit a more general slander of the species; and while he proudly asserts the depravity of man, he takes care that his own conduct shall

furnish the example. Thus, no alternative is left to Malvolio's acquaintance, but to be the hearer or the subject of defamation; and the misanthropist differs from himself, just as he chances to change his company.

I shall, on a future occasion, trouble you with some additional caricatura, and in the mean time, I am yours, &c.

HARRY HOGARTH.

Philad. May 9, 1787.



On giving and receiving Advice.

THERE is no greater instance of good sense than to be capable of receiving advice; for we may easily find that the greatest part of mankind are unanimously resolved to play the hypocrite with one another. The person who asks advice, seldom means any thing more by it, than to let you know either what he has already done, or resolved to do: the giver of advice therefore knowing that this is a common maxim, repays the fraud of his friend with another of his own, and instead of considering the thing proposed, considers only what the intention of his friend is, and immediately advises him to that.

There are some, who ask advice, but proclaim their own resolution before they can receive any answer---*Shall I do*

do this?—Yes,---I will do it, ---is the constant practice of an old physician of my acquaintance; whilst my friend *Mr. Wilful* takes a contrary method, and with his---I will do this---Shall I?---makes his asking advice an equal absurdity. *Mrs. Rentroll*, of Chestnut-street, is of the same turn of mind with my friend *Wilful*. She never does any thing without consulting her husband; but wisely lets him know her intention first, and asks his advice after. The other day *Bob Spavin*, the jockey, brought an elegant saddle-horse to shew her, of about eighty pounds value. She immediately asked her husband's advice, whether she should have it or no. He argued seriously to persuade her against it; but found at last, that her asking whether she should have it, was only her manner of telling him she would.

*Tom Sparebones* has a far happier way of managing his wife, who will not take the least step without his approbation. If she would take a jaunt to Chester in the summer, or a sleigh to Frankford in the winter---if she would invite to a dance, or make one at a tea-party, she never fails to ask his advice first. Tom puts on a grave face, and violently persuades her to what he knows she is resolved upon: she cries, well, since you advise me to

it, my dear, I will---and thus certainly obeys him: by this means, he is the most absolute husband in the world.

There is another set of people, who ask advice only to court our flattery; and it is easy to observe, notwithstanding all their grimace, that it is rather praise than counsel they consult us for. A young author shewed a poetical translation, to a man of excellent genius and judgment, and solicited him as the oracle who was to pronounce its fate: the gentleman with the utmost tenderness and good nature, yet with a sincerity above the common mode, pointed out its numerous errors, and advised him against committing it to press. The bard was incapable of receiving advice, and thought it was nothing but an endeavour of envy to suppress his merit. He ran immediately to some wiser counsellors, who complaisantly applauded his piece; he printed it, and proved himself a blockhead.

Some men ask advice likewise, merely to collect opinions, and though they would be glad that the world agreed with them, they have no intention of altering their conduct, if the case should be otherwise. *M'Brown* took a mistress into keeping, and asked the sentiments of his friends upon the occasion, in hopes they would think that this step was at least preferable



to the indiscriminate pursuit of low pleasures. They candidly expressed their disapprobation. M'Brawn has quarrelled with his counsellors, it is true, but he still keeps his mistresses.

Thus, sir, sincerity in giving advice is constantly re-

ceived ill, by all but those persons who have good sense enough to bear with it; and the sincere counsellor comes off well, if he is not recompenced with some blunt remonstrance, or keen reproach.

HARRY HOGARTH.

Philad. June 21, 1787.

## SELECT POETRY.

Address of the Genius of Columbia to the Members of the Continental Convention.

FROM western skies a cloud of glory came,  
A small, dim spot, a torch of lambent flame;  
Ascending, widening, slow the skirts unroll'd,  
Rainbow'd with fire, and warm'd with glowing gold.  
There, borne by summon'd winds in pomp sublime,  
His look far-piercing down the vast of time,  
Where the long, narrowing vale deserts the eye,  
Unbosom'd dimly on th' eternal sky,  
The genius' fate. He saw when fashion spent,  
No more with war his darling kingdom rent,  
The stream of kindred blood forbore to flow,  
And morn faint trembled o'er the night of woe.  
Call'd from each sister realm, the wise and great,  
In Penn's fair walls, and awful council fate;  
Pois'd in their hands, Columbia's mighty sway,  
And tot'ring laws, and rights, and freedom, lay.  
He saw, when fairer than the glow of ev'n,  
And bright as visions of disclosing heav'n,  
Full in his face a sacred splendor shone,  
And the west kindled with another sun.  
"All hail, my sons," he cried, "my voice attend,

Your country's genius, guardian, guide, and friend:  
The counsels mark, that faithful friend supplies,  
Attend, and learn the dictates of the skies.  
Before you, lo! what scenes of glory spread,  
The fairest, brightest, noblest, heav'n has made:  
Their home, where freedom, science, virtue, bind;  
The last recesses of oppress'd mankind.  
Th' immense of empire here, amaz'd, desery,  
Where realms are lost, and hidden oceans lie;  
Where Persia's vast would sink in shades conceal'd,  
And Rome's proud world diminish to a field.  
See, from the pole where frozen fountains rise,  
And pour their waters under torrid skies,  
Where Rhines and Danubes, hills and streamlets play,  
To swell the pomp of Mississippi's sea;  
Where a zone's breadth majestic woods extend,  
And other Andes o'er the storms ascend;  
Where meadows bound the morn and evening rays;  
Where plains are kingdoms, and where lakes are seas.  
See through all climes th' unmeasur'd empire run,  
And drink each influence from the ling'ring sun;  
Pure skies unbosom'd, days serene roll,  
And gales of health, from Darien fan the pole.

L

In

364 *An Address of the Genius of Columbia, &c.*

In each blest'd clime, to crown industrious toil,  
 See ev'ry product spring from ev'ry soil,  
 Here the fur whitens in the frozen shade;  
 Here flocks unnumber'd croud the pastur'd glade;  
 Here threatening famine double harvests scorn—  
 Europe's rich grains, and India's useful corn—  
 Virginia's fragrant pride, huge fleets convey,  
 And fields of rice float cumbrous o'er the sea;  
 While all its wealth, the world of waters yields,  
 And treasures fill the subterranean fields.  
 These goods to waft where'er expands the wind,  
 To bless and to sustain the human kind,  
 See, stretch'd immense from Cancer to the pole,  
 On either side contending oceans roll;  
 O'er this all Europe wings her haughty sails;  
 O'er that all India wafts on spicy gales;  
 While bays, and streams, and lakes her realms explore,  
 And land each product at each happy door.  
 To fill these realms, a gen'rous race behold,  
 Of happiest genius, and of firmest mould;  
 In thoughts, in arts, in life, in language join'd,  
 One faith, one worship, one politic mind,  
 Patient, serene, in toils and dangers dire,  
 Their nerves of iron, and their souls of fire:  
 Call'd from all realms, these chosen sons have join'd  
 Expansive manners, and a genial mind,  
 The lib'ral sentiment, th' adventurous thought,  
 With greatness teeming, and with goodness fraught;  
 Chain'd to no party; by no system bound;  
 Confining merit to no speck of ground;  
 Nor Britons, Frenchmen, Germans, Swifs, or Huns,  
 Of earth the natives, and of heav'n the sons,  
 Regarding, loving, all the great and good,  
 Of ev'ry rank, clime, party, sect, and blood.  
 The swain, with bliss to Europe's climes unknown,  
 His wife, his house, his lands, his flocks, his own,  
 Treads independent on the subject soil,  
 Prepar'd for ev'ry danger, ev'ry toil;  
 Prepar'd to see antarctic oceans roll,

To circle earth, and search the lonely pole's  
 Or through th' immense of science wind his way;  
 Or lift poetic wings beyond the day;  
 The ridgy front of death for freedom dare,  
 Or, round all regions, hush the voice of war.

Heav'n from all climes this happy realm conceal'd,  
 While wolves and Indians roam'd the bloody field,  
 Till human rule a soft'ning aspect wore,  
 Till war's black chariot ceas'd to roll in gore,  
 Till bigot-zeal resign'd his scarlet sway,  
 And his dread thunders puff'd in smoke away.

Thus oh how blest'd the era of her fate,  
 How bright the morning, and how long the date!

For now each fair improvement of the mind,

Each nobler effort lifts the human kind;  
 Vast means of bliss mechanic arts combine;

All lib'ral arts the rugged soul refine;  
 Freedom, and right, and law, their reign assume,

Stern pow'r resist, and cheer the world's sad doom;

On nature's ocean, science lifts her sails,  
 Finds other stars, and catches nobler gales;  
 While dawning virtue beams from yonder sky,

And brighter suns arise on human joy.

Such scenes of bliss, ye sages, bless your eyes:

For men, for realms like these, your plans devise.

Be then your counsels, as your subject, great,

A world their sphere, and time's long reign their date.

Each party-view, each private good disclaim,

Each petty maxim, each colonial aim;  
 Let all Columbia's weal your views expand,

A mighty system rule a mighty land;  
 Yourself her genuine sons let Europe own,

Not the small agents of a paltry town.  
 Learn, cautious, what to alter, where to mend;

See to what close projected measures tend.  
 From pressing wars the mind averting still,  
 Thinks good remotest from the present ill:  
 From feuds anarchial to oppression's throne,

Misguided nations hence for safety run;  
 And thro' the mis'ries of a thousand years,  
 Their fatal folly mourn in bloody tears.

# *An Address of the Genius of Columbia, &c.* 565

Ten thousand follies through Columbia  
spread ;  
Ten thousand wars her darling realms in-  
vade.  
The private int'rests of each jealous state ;  
Of rule th' impatience, and of law the  
hate :  
The mean ambition of unworthy sons,  
Of Wronghead, Copper, Wimble, Y...ts,  
and J...s\* ;  
The manlier blustrings of more daring  
Shays,  
Or hungry frauds of Parsons, Hinds, and  
Days.  
But ah ! from narrow springs these evils  
flow,  
A few base wretches mingle gen'ral woe.  
Still the same mind her manly race per-  
vades,  
Still the same virtues haunt her hallow'd  
shades.  
But when the peals of war her centre  
shook,  
All private aims the anxious mind forsook.  
In danger's iron-bond her race was one ;  
Each sep'rate good, each little view un-  
known.  
Now rule, unsystem'd, drives the mind  
astray ;  
Now private int'rest points the downward  
way :  
Hence civil discord pours her muddy  
stream,  
And fools and villains float upon the brim ;  
O'er all the sad spectator casts his eye,  
And wonders where the gems and min'rals  
lie.  
But ne'er of freedom, glory, blifs, de-  
spond :  
Uplift your eyes those little clouds beyond ;  
See there returning suns, with gladd'ning  
ray,  
Roll on fair spring to chase this wintry  
day.  
'Tis yours to bid those days of Eden  
shine :  
First, then, and last, the fed'ral bands en-  
twine :  
To this your ev'ry aim and effort bend :  
Let all your efforts here commence and  
end.  
O'er state-concerns let ev'ry state pre-  
side ;  
Its private tax controul ; its justice guide ;  
Religion aid ; the moral ties secure ;  
And bid each private right through time  
endure.  
Columbia's int'rests public sway de-  
mand,  
Her commerce, impost, unlocated land ;  
Her war, her peace, her military pow'r ;  
Treaties to seal with ev'ry distant shore ;

\* Antifederal politicians.

To bid contending states their discord  
cease ;  
To send through all the calumet of peace ;  
Science to wing through ev'ry noble  
flight ;  
And lift desponding genius into light.  
Through ev'ry state to spread each pub-  
lic law,  
Int'rest must animate, and force must  
awe.  
Persuasive dictates realms will ne'er obey ;  
Sway, uncoercive, is the shade of sway.  
Be then your task to alter, aid, amend ;  
The weak to strengthen, and the rigid  
bend ;  
The prurient lop ; the lacking to supply ;  
And graft new cyons from each kindly  
sky.  
Slow, by degrees, politic systems rise ;  
Age still refines them, and experience  
tries.  
This, this alone consolidates, improves ;  
Their sinews strengthens ; their defects  
removes ;  
Gives that consistence time alone can  
give ;  
Habituates man by law and right to live ;  
To grey-hair'd rules increasing reverence  
draws ;  
And wins the slave to love ev'n tyrant  
laws,  
But should Columbia, with distracted  
eyes,  
See o'er her ruins one proud monarch rise ;  
Should vain partitions her fair realms di-  
vide,  
And rival empires float on faction's tide ;  
Lo fix'd opinions 'gainst the fabric rage !  
What wars, fierce passions with fierce  
passions wage !  
From Cancer's glowing wilds to Brun-  
wick's shore,  
Hark, how th' alarms of civil discord  
roar !  
" To arms," the trump of kindled en-  
vy cries,  
And kindred blood smokes upward to the  
skies.  
As Persia, Greece, so Europe bids her  
flame,  
And smiles, with eye malignant, o'er her  
shame.  
Seize then, oh ! seize Columbia's golden  
hour ;  
Perfect her fed'ral system, public pow'r ;  
For this stupendous realm, this chosen  
race,  
With all th' improvements of all lands  
its base,  
The glorious structure build ; its breadth  
extend ;  
Its columns lift, its mighty arches bend !

On

On freedom, science, arts, its stories  
shine,  
Unshaken pillars of a frame divine ;  
Far o'er th' Atlantic wild its beams as-  
pire,  
The world approves it, and the heav'n's  
admire ;  
O'er clouds, and suns, and stars, its splen-  
dors rise,  
'Till the bright top-stone vanish in the  
skies.



## COLUMBIA: A SONG:

Composed and set to music by mr. T.  
Dwight.

**C**OLUMBIA, Columbia, to glory arise,  
The queen of the world, and the  
child of the skies !

Thy genius commands thee ; with rap-  
ture behold,  
While ages on ages thy splendors unfold.  
Thy reign is the last, and the noblest, of  
time,  
Most fruitful thy soil, most inviting thy  
clime ;  
Let the crimes of the East ne'er encrimson  
thy name,  
Be freedom, and science, and virtue, thy  
fame.

To conquest, and slaughter, let Europe  
aspire ;  
Whelm nations in blood, and wrap ci-  
ties in fire ;  
Thy heroes the rights of mankind shall  
defend,  
And triumph pursue them, and glory at-  
tend,  
A world is thy realm : for a world be thy  
laws,  
Enlarg'd as thine empire, and just as thy  
cause :  
On freedom's broad basis, that empire  
shall rise,  
Extend with the main, and dissolve with  
the skies.

Fair science her gates to thy sons shall un-  
bar,  
And the east see thy morn hide the beams  
of her star.  
New bards, and new sages, unrival'd shall  
soar  
To fame, unextinguish'd when time is no  
more :  
To thee, the last refuge of virtue de-  
sign'd,  
Shall fly from all nations, the best of  
mankind ;

Here, grateful to heaven, with transport  
shall bring  
Their incense, more fragrant than odours  
of spring.

Nor less shall thy fair ones to glory  
ascend,  
And genius and beauty in harmony blend ;  
The graces of form shall awake pure de-  
fire,  
And the charms of the soul ever cherish  
the fire :  
Their sweetness unmingled, their man-  
ners refin'd,  
And virtue's bright image, instamp'd on  
the mind,  
With peace, and soft rapture, shall teach  
life to glow,  
And light up a smile in the aspect of  
woe.

Thy fleets to all regions thy pow'r shall  
display,  
The nations admire, and the ocean obey ;  
Each shore to thy glory its tribute un-  
fold,  
And the East and the South yield their  
spices and gold.  
As the day-spring unbounded, thy splendor  
shall flow,  
And earth's little kingdoms before thee  
shall bow,  
Whilst the ensigns of union in triumph  
unfur'd,  
Hush the tumult of war, and give peace to  
the world.

Thus, as down a lone valley, with cedars  
o'erspread,  
From war's dread confusion, I pensively  
stray'd,  
The gloom from the face of fair heav'n  
retir'd ;  
The winds ceas'd to murmur ; the thun-  
ders expir'd ;  
Perfumes, as of Eden, flow'd sweetly  
along,  
And a voice, as of angels, enchantingly  
sung :  
" Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise,  
The queen of the world, and the child of  
the skies."



## A SONG:

For the Massachusetts insurgents.  
Tune—Black Sloven.

**C**OME, come, my bold boxers, 'tis  
liberty calls :  
Hark, hark, how she lustily bawls, and  
bawls !



\*Tis high time, if ever for mobbing 'twas  
time :

To mobbing, ye chicks of danie Liberty  
run :

Scour up the old whinyard, and brush the  
old gun.

Freedom we'll chime,  
While tag, rag, and bobtail,  
Lead up our decorum : huzza !

Sure these are the plaguiest of all plaguy  
times,

When villains must hang for their crimes,  
their crimes ;

An ddebtors a gantlope of bailiffs must  
run ;

When rulers will govern, and we must  
obey,

And law down our gullets is cramm'd  
ev'ry day.

Rap, rap.—'Tis a dun !  
The sheriff's behind him,  
We'll gag him, and bind him : huzza !

When the rum is all out, and the cyder runs  
low,

And the taverns won't sell for ditto, ditto,  
And a man for his victuals must work like  
a dog ;

Paper-Money, and cheating by law have  
both fled,

To Rhode Island to hive in their Gover-  
nor's head.

Come, come, t'other mug !  
Here's a health to our master ;  
Talk less and drink faster : huzza !

Then haste to our chiefs, such as never  
were seen,

With \* hats, and with noddles, so green,  
so green,

There's the Hind† that's let loose, of true  
Naphthali breed,

There are Shayfes and Dayfes, and such  
pretty things,

And Grovers, and Wheelers, and Jewels,  
and Kings :

Yet dismal to read !

Our poor brother Shattuck

Was fell'd with a mattock, heigh ho !

We've would be assembly-men, captains  
and squires,

And the train that sir Richard inspires,  
inspires,

With the spirit of Ely, our genius and  
guide,

No longer in prison our gentlemen lurk,

\* A green bough is the badge of the mob.

† Hind of Greenwich, famous for giving  
goodly words.

Nor run from the sheriff, nor live by hard  
work ;

Gaily we'll ride  
O'er lawyers and judges,  
And all the court drudges : huzza !

Then senates and courts to our friend Bel-  
zebub,

We'll drive with the musket, and club,  
and club,

And in apron and jerkin our governor  
dress :

To sit in the saddle we've men that know  
how,

And make all your ruffled-shirts foot 'it  
and bow ;

The world shall confess,  
We've spirits in hogheads,  
And cunning in fox-heads : huzza !

Thus no longer with stocks, and with pil-  
lories vex'd

Nor with work, jail, or sheriff, perplex'd,  
perplex'd,

The mobmen shall rule, and the great  
men obey :

The world upon wheels shall be all set  
agog,

And blockheads and knaves hail the reign  
of king log

Under his sway,  
Shall tag, rag, and bobtail,  
Lead up our decorum : huzza---

The Desolate Academy.

By Philip Freneau.

**S**UBJECTED to despotic rule,  
Once in this dome I went to school,  
Where Pedro Passive held his reign,  
The tyrant of a small domain.

By him a num'rous herd controul'd,  
The pert, the stupid, and the bold,  
Essay'd some little share to gain  
Of the vast treasures of his brain---  
Some learn'd the Latin ; some the Greek ;  
And some in flow'ry style to speak :  
Some wrote their themes, while others  
read,

And some with Euclid stuff'd the head :  
Some toil'd in verse, and some in prose,  
And some in logic sought repose :  
Some learn'd to cypher ; some to draw :  
And some began to study law.

But all is ruin'd ; all is done ;  
The tutor to the shades is gone :  
And all his pupils, led astray,  
Have each found out a diff'rent way.

Some are in chains of wedlock bound ;  
And some are hang'd ; and some are  
drown'd ;

Some

Some are advanc'd to posts and places ;  
 And some in pulpits screw their faces ;  
 Some at the bar a living gain,  
 Perplexing what they should explain :  
 To soldiers turn'd, a bolder band  
 Repel th' invaders of the land ;  
 Some to the arts of physic bred,

Dispatch their patients to the dead ;  
 Some plough the land, and some the sea ;  
 And some are slaves ; and some are free ;  
 Some court the great, and some the muse ;  
 And some subsist by mending shoes :  
 While others—but so vast the throng,  
 The cobbler shall conclude my song.

## AN EPITHALAMIUM:

By Colonel David Humphreys :

Late Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency General Washington.

## I

T'WAS at the wedding-feast, for Celia won,

By Cymon's coxcomb son :  
 Aloft in dwarfish state,  
 The foplike bridegroom sat,  
 And made a deal of fun !

His gallant peers around were plac'd,  
 Their hair all curl'd and dress'd in newest taste ;

(Of powder what prodigious waste !)  
 The limp'ring Celia by his side,  
 His lace and gew-gaws fondly ey'd,  
 And swell'd her little heart with pride.  
 Proper, proper, proper pair !

None but a rake,

None but a rake,

Such pains would take to gain a fickle fair.

## II.

Mungo was there, and did well,  
 And led the cap'ring choir ;  
 With fumbling fingers twang'd the fiddle :  
 The notes awake the am'rous fire,  
 And drinking joys inspire.

The song began of beaux,

And whence the order rose ;

(Such wond'rous things a fiddler knows).

A monkey's grinning form in utmost vi-

Bely'd a macaroni's noble figure ; [gour,

When he to fair Coquettia prest,

A while he sought her snowy breast ;

Then round her slender waist he curl'd,

And stamp'd an image of himself, a coxcomb of the world.

A present fop ! they shout around ;

A present fop ! the vaulted roofs rebound :

With ravish'd ears,

The fopling hears ;

Assumes the shape,

Looks like an ape,

And grins, and laughs, and sneers.

## III.

The praise of Bacchus then the thirsty fiddler sung ;

Of

## ALEXANDER'S FEAST,

Or the Power of Music : An Ode.

In Honor of St. Cecilia's Day.

By Mr. Dryden.

## I.

T'WAS at the royal feast for Persia won,

By Philip's warlike son :  
 Aloft in awful state  
 The godlike hero sat  
 On his imperial throne.

His valiant peers were plac'd around,  
 Their brows with roses and with myrtles bound ;

(So should desert in arms be crown'd.)  
 The lovely Thais by his side,  
 Sat like a blooming eastern bride,  
 In flow'r of youth and beauty's pride.  
 Happy, happy, happy pair !

None but the brave,

None but the brave,

None but the brave deserves the fair.

## II.

Timotheus plac'd on high,

Amid the tuneful choir,

With flying fingers touch'd the lyre ;

The trembling notes ascend the sky,

And heav'nly joys inspire.

The song began from Jove,

Who left his blissful seat above ;

(Such is the pow'r of mighty love)

A dragon's fiery form bely'd the God ;

Sublime on radiant spires he rode,

When he to fair Olympia prest,

A while he sought her snowy breast ;

Then round her slender waist he curl'd,

And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

A present deity ! they shout around :

A present deity ! the vaulted roofs rebound :

With ravish'd ears

The monarch hears ;

Assumes the God,

Affects to nod,

And seems to shake the spheres.

## III.

The praise of Bacchus then the sweet musician sung ;

Of

Of Bacchus, ever plump and ever young :  
The jolly god to wedding comes ;  
Sound the trumpets, beat the drums :  
    Flush'd with a purple rose,  
    His pimpled face he shews.  
Now give the boy a dram. He comes, he  
    comes !

Bacchus ! plump and merry younker,  
Makes the wedding-folks get drunker ;  
Bacchus taught to toast the lasses ;  
    Tipling ev'ry joy surpasses.  
    Rich the treasure,  
    Sweet the pleasure,  
After drinking to break glasses.

IV.

Sooth'd with the sound, the fop grew vain,  
Talk'd all his courtship o'er again,  
And thrice he kiss'd the girls all round,  
    and thrice they fled again.  
The fidler saw the mischief rise,  
His yawning mouth, his maudlin eyes ;  
And while he sense and song desied,  
Chang'd his hand, and strok'd the bride.  
    He chose a doleful ditty,  
    To work him up to pity :  
He sung poor Damon's cruel wrongs,  
    By too severe a fate,  
Banish'd, banish'd, banish'd, banish'd,  
    Bani h'd for his small estate,  
And writing mournful songs :  
    Deserted, at his utmost need,  
    By all Apollo's tuneful breed ;  
On an old feather-bed he lies,  
Nor dullness self will close his eyes.  
With stupid stare the joyless fopling fate,  
Revolving in his alter'd soul,  
The various turns of fate and fun ;  
And now and then a drink he stole :  
And streams began to run.

V.

The mighty fidler smil'd to see  
That love was in the next degree :  
To touch that string was little labour,  
For love to pity is next neighbour.  
Softly sweet he tun'd his fiddle,  
Soon it sounded, tiddle, diddle.  
Trade, he sung, is toil and trouble ;  
Money but an empty bubble ;  
Constant hurry, still beginning,  
    Constant cheating, never ending :  
If a fortune's worth thy winning,  
    Think, O think it worth thy spending !  
Lovely Celia sits beside thee ;  
Drink about, and luck beride thee.  
The many rend the bows with loud ap-  
    plause ;  
So love was crown'd, but liquor won the  
    cause.  
The fop, grown addled in his noddle,  
Gaz'd on his bride,  
And then his bottle,  
And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd,  
Sigh'd

Of Bacchus ever fair and ever young :  
The jolly god in triumph comes ;  
Sound the trumpets, beat the drums :  
    Flush'd with a purple grace  
    He shews his honest face.  
Now give the hautboys breath. He  
    comes, he comes !  
Bacchus ! ever fair and young,  
Drinking joys did first ordain ;  
Bacchus' blessings are a treasure ;  
Drinking is the soldier's pleasure :  
    Rich the treasure,  
    Sweet the pleasure,  
Sweet is pleasure after pain.

IV.

Sooth'd with the sound, the king grew vain,  
Fought all his battles o'er again,  
And thrice he routed all his foes, and  
    thrice he slew the slain.  
The master saw the madness rise,  
His glowing cheeks, his ardent eyes ;  
And while he heav'n and earth defy'd,  
Chang'd his hand, and check'd his pride.  
    He chose a mournful muse,  
    Soft pity to infuse :  
He sung Darius, great and good !  
    By too severe a fate,  
Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,  
    Fallen from his high estate,  
And welt'ring in his blood ;  
    Deserted, at his utmost need,  
    By those his former bounty fed ;  
On the bare earth expos'd he lies,  
Without a friend to close his eyes.  
With downcast looks the joyless victor fate  
Revolving in his alter'd soul,  
The various turns of chance below ;  
And now and then a sigh he stole,  
And tears began to flow.

V.

The mighty master smil'd to see  
That love was in the next degree :  
'Twas but a kindred sound to move,  
For pity melts the mind to love.  
Softly sweet, in Lydian measures,  
Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures.  
War, he sung, is toil and trouble ;  
Honour but an empty bubble ;  
Never ending, still beginning,  
    Fighting still, and still destroying :  
If the world be worth thy winning,  
    Think, O think it worth enjoying !  
Lovely Thais sits beside thee ;  
Take the good the gods provide thee.  
The many rend the skies with loud ap-  
    plause ;  
So love was crown'd, but music won the  
    cause.  
The prince unable to conceal his pain,  
Gaz'd on his fair  
Who caus'd his care,  
And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd,  
Sigh'd

Sigh'd and look'd, and look'd and sigh'd.  
At length for love, and drinking more,  
unable,  
The tipsy bridegroom fell beneath the  
table.

## VI.

Now tug the wooden lyre again:  
A harder yet, and yet a harder strain.  
Let scolding break his sleep afunder,  
And start him, like a rattling peal of  
thunder.

Hark, hark, Xantippe's fable  
Has rais'd up his head,  
As awak'd from the dead,  
And he peeps out from under the table.  
Revenge, revenge, dark Mungo cries,  
See the cuckolds arise!  
See the horns that they rear,  
How they look in their hair,  
And the tears that roll down from their  
eyes!

Behold the hen-peck'd band,  
In ghostly terrors stand!  
These are husbands whose couches have  
met with a stain;  
Whose wives still remain  
Unconcern'd with their pain:  
Give the vengeance due  
To the cuckold crew.

Behold how they toss their foreheads up  
higher,

How they point to the bedrooms around,  
And warn ev'ry pair to retire:

The cronies applaud with a bacchanal  
sound:

And each in a rapture laid hold on his  
Helen;

The way fair Celia led,  
To light the bucks to bed,  
The rest is scarce worth telling.

## VII.

Thus long ago,  
Ere younger Cymon's horns began to grow,  
While Celia's tongue lay still  
Dark Mungo show'd prodigious skill,  
Both as a singer,  
And when he touch'd his lyre with heavy  
thumb and finger.

But when the shrill-voic'd Celia came,  
And tun'd to rage her vocal frame;  
The gifted scold from her unborrow'd store,  
Enlarg'd the former narrow bounds,  
And added length to jarring sounds  
With nature's mother-wit, and screams  
unknown before.

Let Mungo, if he's able,  
Do more—or yield the wreath—  
He stretch'd a top beneath the table,  
She scolded him to death.

Sigh'd and look'd, and sigh'd again.  
At length, with love and wine at once  
oppress'd,  
The vanquish'd victor sunk upon her  
breast.

## VI.

Now strike the golden lyre again,  
A louder yet, and yet a louder strain.  
Break his bands of sleep afunder,  
And rouse him, like a rattling peal of  
thunder.

Hark, hark the horrid sound  
Has rais'd up his head,  
As awak'd from the dead,  
And amaz'd he stares around.  
Revenge, revenge! Timotheus cries,  
See the furies arise!  
See the snakes that they rear,  
How they hiss in their hair!  
And the sparkles that flash from their  
eyes!

Behold a ghostly band,  
Each a torch in his hand!  
These are Grecian ghosts that in battle  
were slain.  
Whose bodies remain,  
Unburied on the plain:  
Give the vengeance due,  
To the valiant crew.

Behold how they toss their torches on  
high,

How they point to the Persian abodes,  
And glittering temples of their hostile gods.  
The princes applaud with a furious  
joy,

And the king seiz'd a flambeau with zeal  
to destroy;

Thais led the way,  
To light him to his prey,  
And like another Helen, fir'd another Troy.

## VII.

Thus long ago  
Ere heaving bellows learn'd to blow,  
While organs yet were mute;  
Timotheus to his breathing flute  
And founding lyre,  
Could swell the soul to rage, or kindle soft  
desire.

But when divine Cecilia came,  
Inventress of the vocal frame;  
The sweet enthusiast, from her sacred store,  
Enlarg'd the former narrow bounds,  
And added length to solemn sounds,  
With nature's mother-wit, and arts un-  
known before.

Let old Timotheus yield the prize,  
Or both divide the crown;  
He rais'd a mortal to the skies,  
She drew an angel down.

CON-



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